STATE FORMATION IN MEWAR : A.D. 10th - 15th CENTURIES

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NANDINI SINHA

CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110 067
INDIA

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जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled "**State Formation in Mewar: A.D. 10th-15th Centuries**", submitted by Ms. Nandini Sinha for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of this University, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and this is her own work.

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROF. ROMILA THAPAR (EMERITUS)
SUPERVISOR

PROF. MADHAVAN K. PALAT
CHAIRPERSON

PROF. KUNAL CHAKRABARTI
SUPERVISOR

TO

THE LOVING MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

SHRI SATYAJIT KUMAR SINHA

(18-03-1931 - 18-06-1991)

WHO INSPIRED ME TO STUDY FURTHER
BUT DID NOT LIVE LONG TO SEE
THE COMPLETION OF THIS WORK

ALSO FOR

MY MOTHER, SMT. DIPALI SINHA

AND

MY BROTHER, RAJU (ABHIJIT SINHA)

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Nandini Sinha
(Nandini Sinha)
Lecturer, Dept. of History,
PGDAV College (Morning), University of Delhi

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.I.	- Archaeological Survey of India, Report
An. Rep. of A.S.I.	- Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India
ARIE	- Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
ARRM	- Annual Report of Rajputana Museum
Bom. Br. R.A.S.	- Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
B.S.O.A.S.	- Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CII	- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
EI	- Epigraphia Indica
EIAPS	- Epigraphia Indica: Arabic And Persian Supplement
IA	- Indian Antiquity
IESHR	- Indian Economic and Social History Review
IHR	- Indian Historical Review
IHQ	- Indian Historical Quarterly
JESHO	- Journal of Economic and Social History of Orient
JIH	- Journal of Indian History
JNSI	- Journal of Numismatic Society of India
MK	- Ram Vallabh Somani, Mahārāṇā Kumbha, Jodhpur, 1968. (Hindi)
PIHC	- Proceedings of Indian History Congress
PRAS, WC	- Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle
R.P.V.P.	- Rajasthan Prachya Vidya Pratisthan
RTA	- Dasharath Sharma, Rajasthan Through The Ages, Bikaner, 1966
Sharda, MK	- H.B. Sharda, Maharana Kumbha, Ajmer, 1922
URI	- G.H. Ojha, Udaipur Rājya Kī Itihāsa, Ajmer, 1936.

Guhila ruling families, local notables and individual land-holders characterized the rural society in Mewar in this period. Finally the ideological dimension of state also appeared for the first time in the seventh century. The use of symbols of royalty such as titles of *nṛipa* and *narādhipa*, and *praśastis* of the Guhila rulers testify to the formation of local states. The other important facet of ideological dimension, royal patronage of popular cults, also began in this period.

CHAPTER II

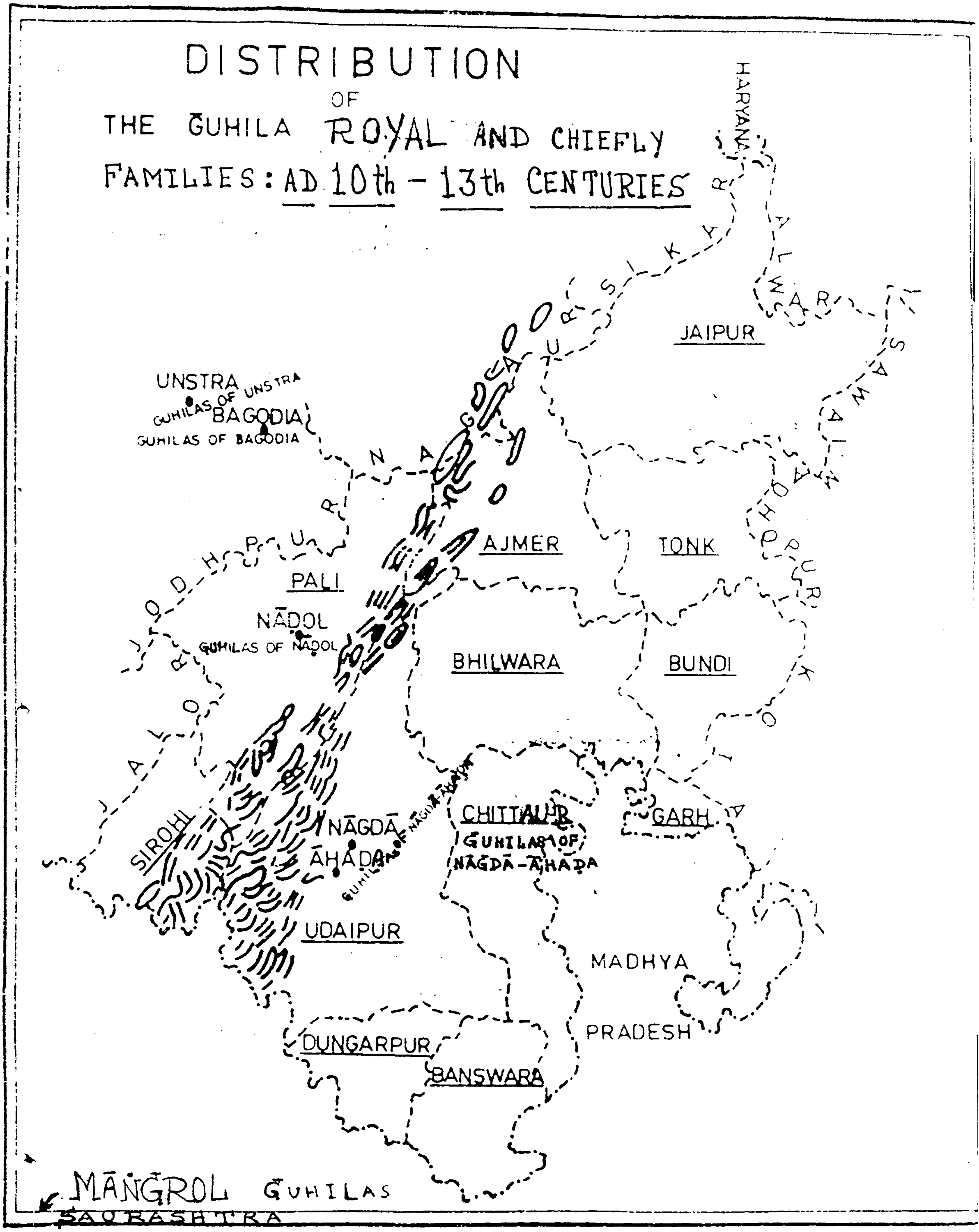
MEWAR AS THE LOCUS OF A STATE

A. CONSOLIDATION OF GUHILA POWER: 10TH-13TH CENTURIES A.D.

The tenth century in Rajasthan may be considered a crucial phase in the history of the Guhila dynasties as it witnessed the crystallization of their state. In order to highlight the integrating role of the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa in the state formation of Mewar, it becomes necessary to make a brief survey of the contemporary Guhila families. The comparison would bring out the contrasts in the history of different Guhila ruling families in the period. Contemporary with the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas were the Guhilas of Unstra (north-west of Bagodia, Jodhpur district), the Guhilas of Bagodia (north-west of Pipar, Jodhpur district) the Guhilas of Nāḍol (Pali district) and the Guhilas of Māṅgrol (Saurashtra, Gujarat).

In the study of political growth of the Guhila dynasty that successfully transformed itself into a regional power by the thirteenth century, we will consider their changing material base, patronage of religious institutions and cults, genealogical structure and new political symbols, and an administrative apparatus.

Finally but not the least, the proliferation of branches of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila royal family, its impact on the contemporary state of the Mewar hills and other centres of Guhila power beyond Mewar hills will be discussed to emphasize the Rajput kinship structure in a period of state formation and growth.



DISTRIBUTION
OF
THE GUHILA ROYAL AND CHIEFLY
FAMILIES: AD 10th - 13th CENTURIES
HARYANA
SIKAR
ALWAR
JAIPUR
SAWAI MADHOPUR
NAGAUR
UNSTRA
GUHILAS OF UNSTRA
BAGODIA
GUHILAS OF BAGODIA
AJMER
TONK
JODHPUR
PALI
NĀDOL
GUHILAS OF NADOL
BHILWARA
BUNDI
KOTA
JALOR
SIROHI
NĀGDĀ
ĀHADA
GUHILAS OF NAGDA-AHADA
CHITTAUR
GUHILAS OF NĀGDĀ-ĀHADA
GARH
UDAIPUR
MADHYA
PRADESH
DUNGARPUR
BANSWARA
MĀNGROL GUHILAS
SAURASHTRA

(i) Guhilas of Unstra (North West of Bagodia, Jodhpur district, Marwar region)

Memorial stone inscriptions of A.D. 1179-80 and of A.D. 1190-97 at an ancient Jain temple at Unstra suggest the existence of a pocket of Guhila power in this arid tract of Marwar. The inscriptions record the deaths of Rāṇā Tihunapāla[1] and Rāṇā Motiśvara,[2] both of the Guhilautra (Guhila) lineage. The inscription of A.D. 1179-80 also records that Rāṇā Tihunapāla's wives, Pālhanadevī (of the Bodana lineage) and Mātādevī,[3] became satīs. Rāṇā Motiśvara's wife, Rājī of the Mohilī lineage, too became a *satī*.[4]

It seems from the title of Rāṇā and limited territorial control that the Guhila chiefs of Unstra served in the capacity of subordinate allies and seem to have died fighting for the cause of an overlord.[5] An overlord could be a Nāḍol Cāhamāna ruler as an inscription of King Sāmanta Siṁhadeva of A.D. 1202 is found at a nearby site at Bali, Bamnera.[6] The presence of Bodana and Mohil Rajputs also suggests that Unstra was a part of the Cāhamāna state of Nāḍol as Bodana and Mohil are the two subdivisions of the Cāhamāna clan. Unlike the contemporary Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas, the Guhila Rāṇās of Unstra make no claim to prestigious

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1. PRAS, WC, 1911-12, p.53.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Early Memorial Stones of Rajasthan" in S. Settar, ed., Memorial Stones, Dharwar and New Delhi, 1982, p.144.

6. PRAS, WC, 1911-12, p.53.

origin. They simply refer to themselves as Guhilas.[7] This may have been in keeping with a subordinate status.

(ii) The Guhilas of Bagodia (40 miles, North-west of Pipar, Jodhpur district, Marwar region)

The Bagodia Tīrthamba inscription of A.D. 1054 points to the existence of Guhila chiefly families at Bagodia, near Jodhpur (Marwar). It is also a memorial stone inscription: it refers to the death of one Dhālavana, son of Alaja Vichārī, a Guhilaputra.[8] It records the construction of a *Devalī* (temple), further suggesting the association of the Guhilas with this area.[9]

(iii) The Guhilas of Nāḍol (Pali District, Godwar region)

A Guhila base of power at *Nāḍūlādagika*, Nāḍol (Pali district) is evident from the Jadvaji Jain temple inscription of the reign of Nāḍol Cāhamāna ruler, Mahārājaputra Rāyapāladeva (A.D. 1137-1138) and the Adinath temple inscriptions of the same Guhila family. Both inscriptions record grants of grains, shares from oil-mills, incense, flowers, etc. by Ṭhakkura Rājadeva, son of Udhāraṇa of the Guhila lineage.[10] The donations were granted from *Nāḍūlādagika*.[11] In addition, the grants included parts of the duties levied on pack oxen going to and from *Nāḍūlādagika*.[12]

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7. Ibid.

8. PRAS, WC, 1909, p.42.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

Ṭhakkura Rājadeva is described as 'holding *Naḍūlāḍagika*'.[13] Both these charters suggest the association of the Guhila family as subordinates of the Cāhamānas of Naḍol.

(iv) The Guhilas of Māṅgrol, Saurashtra, Gujarat

The *Sobhadi Vāo* stone inscription of A.D. 1146 takes us to a Guhila centre of power outside Rajasthan: Māṅgrol, in Saurashtra. The genealogical list in the inscription eulogises Guhila Sahajīga's sons as protectors (military officials) of Saurashtra.[14] In the same genealogical line the contemporary Guhila Mūlaka bears the title of *Nāyaka* (chief) of Saurashtra.[15]

The progenitor of the family, Śrī Sāhāra is simply referred to as a Śrī Guhila.[16] Thus the Guhilas of Māṅgrol seem to have been integrated into Caulukyan polity of Gujarat through a system of distribution of roles and services evident in such administrative titles as *Nāyaka* of Saurashtra. However, it seems from the absence of any other claim that the Guhilas of Māṅgrol enjoyed territorial and political power limited to Saurashtra. The limited political power is also evident from the political ranking of Guhila Mūlaka in the Ṭhakkura category.[17]

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13. Ibid.

14. Stone inscription of Sobhadi Vāo of A.D. 1146 at Māṅgrol, A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, Bhavnagar, n.d., pp.158-160.

15. Ibid., vv.4-5.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

(v) The Guhilas of *Nāgdā-Āhaḍa* and State Formation in Mewar, A.D. 10th Century-A.D. 13th Century

Of the disparately distributed families of the Guhilas, examined, first, with reference to 7th-10th centuries and then to 10th-13th centuries, it was the Guhila family of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa which was directly connected with the rise of a state. It is with the history of this family that we shall be concerned now.

The imperial Pratīhāras held their sway over southern Rajasthan in the ninth century but their continuous military campaigns kept Bhoja I (A.D. 836-892) occupied in the north, with Devapāla of Gauḍa in the east and with Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan for most of his reign.[18] There was no direct annexation of southern Rajasthan in the period. Like their contemporary neighbours, the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas are likely to have acknowledged Pratīhāra supremacy over northern India. But such acknowledgement must have been temporary in their case as is apparent from the decline of the Pratīhāra power in southern Rajasthan by the mid-tenth century. The presence of Pratīhāra representatives at the strategic fortress of Chittaur (as is evident from the Sirur inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I of A.D. 866[19] and Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa II of A.D. 959[20]) could not therefore, effectively interrupt the political career of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas.

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18. D. Sharma, RTA, op. cit., pp.149-160.

19. EI, Vol.VII, p.205, .1.4, *`jitvā jagat=samastaṁ[yo] Jagat[t]uṅga iti śruta[h]ll Kerala-Mālava śauṭan=sa-Gujjarā Chitrakūṭa-girīdurgga-sthān=baddhvā Kāñch-Īśa nātha sa Kīrttinārāyaṇo jagati ll'*.

20. EI, Vol.IV, p.284, v.30, *`Dakṣiṇādigadurgga Vijayamā-karṇya galitā Gurjjarahṛdāyatkā (laṁ) jaracitra kūṭāśā'*.

The Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa not only consolidated power in their base region but also territorially integrated the central part of the Mewar hills and possibly touched the northern Mahi basin. For this we have circumstantial evidence: the total disappearance of the Guhila house of Kiṣkindhā after the eighth century. The Nāgdā-Āhaḍa house had expanded southwards at the expense of the Kiṣkindhā-Guhilas. It is equally significant to note that of all the Guhilas of southern Rajasthan it is only the Guhila house of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa which figures as political subordinates of the Pratīhāras in Mewar along with a small ruling family of the Cāhamānas at Pratapgarh in district Chittaurgarh bordering Mandasaur (Upper Banas Plain) in tenth century.[21] There is no trace of the Guhilas of Dhavagartā or those of Kiṣkindhā in Pratapgarh inscriptions (A.D. 942-946), the only epigraphical record from Mewar dating to the reign of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II. This extension of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila territory was achieved through military superiority. In fact, grants made by Bhartṛipaṭṭa II at Pratapgarh indicate that the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas held some territorial claim in southern part (Pratapgarh) of the upper Banas plain before A.D. 950. The title of Mahārājādhirāja for Guhila Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II)[22] in the Pratapgarh records (as against the title of *Bhūpo* or *nṛipati* for the Cāhamānas[23] of Pratapgarh) is significant.

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21. Pratapgarh inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla II, EI, XIV, pp.176-188

22. Pratapgarh Inscription, op. cit., Part III, l.27, '*Samastarājāvalīpurvvamgreha mahārājādhirājaśrībhartṛi paṭṭah.*'

23. Ibid., Part II, vv.5-6, '*Soyaṁ rājati rājacakranilayah Śrī Cāhamānānvayah Govindarāja iti tatra vabhūva bhūpo.*'

The consolidation of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila power is corroborated by the long genealogical lists occurring in their official records for the first time in the tenth century. The Āṭpura inscription of Guhila Śaktikumāra contains the following genealogy. Śaktikumāra is stated to have obtained the glory of Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) and consolidated his kingdom.[24] The reference to King Śaktikumāra as the prince who consolidated the Kingdom also indicates the point of time (the second half of the tenth century) when the early Guhilas consolidated power in their central area and beyond. This may be taken as the second phase in the growth of the processes of state formation in Mewar. Āghaṭa or Āhaḍa was made the new capital by Śaktikumāra: he is stated to have established himself at Āghaṭapura.[25] Guhila King Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) bears the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* in the Pratapgarh inscription of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāladeva (II) of A.D. 945-946.[26] It is again Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) who is eulogised in the Āṭpura inscription as the 'ornament of the three worlds'.[27] Thus new political titles and a genealogical list are claimed in the tenth century by the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas.

The new heights of political power are expressed in ambitious claims about origins. The records now for the first time speak of the ancestor, Guhadatta as a *brāhmaṇa*

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24. Āṭpura Inscription of Śaktikumāra of A.D. 977, op. cit., IA, Vol.XXXIX, pp.186-191, v.9, '*tatah śaktikumārobhūt-sutah śaktitrayojitah Bhartṛipaṭṭābhidhā śrīśraca prāpa rāṣṭramdhāpayat*'.

25. Ibid.

26. Pratapgarh Inscription, op. cit., 1.27.

27. op. cit., v.3, '*Siṁhobhavattadanu tadbhritīpi jajñe Khommāṇa ityatha sutasyamahāyakobhūt Khommāṇamātmaja tasmāllokatrai katilakajani Bhartṛipaṭṭah*'.

belonging to a family of Ānandapura (Ānandapura Vinirgataḥ Viprakulāhnandanoh-mahīdeva jayati Śrī Guhadattaḥ Guhilavaṁśasya pravavah).[28] Ānandapura is identified with present Vadnagar in Idar, north-east Gujarat. It is a very significant development when contrasted with the simple expression of *Guhilānvaya* of seventh century records. The same genealogical list and origin myth are repeated in the eleventh century, as is evident from the Kadmal plates of Guhila Vijayasiṁha of A.D. 1083.[29]

The Pratīhāra power in southern Rajasthan had by this time begun to decline. Pratīhāra hold over the strategic fortress of Chittaurgarh weakened by the second half of tenth century. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions into northern India had undermined the Pratīhāra power militarily as it is evident by Karhad plates[30] and Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III.[31] This was also the period when powerful rulers like Paramāra Sīyaka II, Mularāja Caulukya, and Candella Dhaṅga were making intrusions into the Pratīhāra dominion from central and western India.[32] In the weakening of the Pratīhāra hold over the fortress of Chittaurgarh the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa are likely to have played a significant role as is evident from an unpublished inscription of the reign of Guhila King Allaṭa (Ālu Rāval of tradition). King Allaṭa is said to have killed on the battlefield a strong enemy named Devapā-

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28. Ibid., v.1.

29. EI, Vol.XXXI, pp.237-248 and v.2.

30. EI, Vol.IV, pp.278-290, v.30, `*dakṣiṇādidurgga Vijityam ākarṇya Galitā Gurjarahṛadyātkā laṁjara citrakūṭāśā*'.

31. EI, Vol.V, pp.188-97.

32. D. Sharma, RTA, op. cit., p.198, Chapter: Devapāla.

la[33] (identified with Pratīhāra King Devapāla of Kannauj of the late tenth century).[34] Thus the extent to which the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas helped in weakening the Pratīhāra hold over Citrakūṭa remains a matter of conjecture. The fact that the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa had become a power to be reckoned with is borne out by the Paramāra invasion of Āghāṭa, their capital. The Bijapur inscription of Dhavalā Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Hastikuṇḍī records that prince Dhavalā gave shelter to the armies of a King whose name is lost and the army of the Gurjaras when Paramāra Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghaṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa and caused them to flee.[35] Thus they figure in the official records of their contemporaries for the first time in the tenth century. Paramāra Muñja was the contemporary of Guhila King Śaktikumāra. As is evident from the Hastikuṇḍī record Guhila Śaktikumāra was given political refuge by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of Hastikuṇḍī at the time of the sack of Āghāṭa (Āhaḍ). It was on this occasion that the fortress of Chittaur passed into Paramāra hands. Muñja Vākpati's nephew Bhoja is known to have resided often at Chittaur. Construction of the temples of Tribhuvana-nārāyaṇa[36] (now known as Mokaljī's temple) and Samaddhiśvara is attributed to Paramāra Bhoja.[37] Next to the Paramāras, it was the Cāhamānas who continued to keep up

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33. G.H. Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, p.124, fn.3. `*Dūr dharamārim yu Devapālam vyādhat Kabandham Vyādhat*'.

34. Ibid.

35. EI, Vol.X, pp.20-24, v.10, `*bhaṁktāghāṭam ghatābhih prakatmiva madam medapāṭe bhatānāṁ janye rājanyajanye janayati janatājam ... raṇam Muñjarāje ... l hariṇa iva bhiā Gurjjareśe Vinaṣṭe tatsainyānām śaraṇyo hāririva śaraṇe yah Surānāṁ babhūva.*"

36. D. Sharma, RTA, op. cit., p.248.

37. Kumbhalgarh Slabs, A.D. 1460, EI Vol.XXIV, pp.304 ff.

pressures on the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas. Guhila Śaktikumāra's son Ambāprasāda is known to have been killed by his contemporary Cāhamāna, Vākpati II of Śākambharī in an attack on the capital.[38]

These occasional inroads into Nāgdā-Āhaḍa should be considered as mere setbacks in the political career of the Guhila dynasty without interrupting or affecting the processes of state formation at this point of time.[39]

Increasing political power had to be supplemented with higher social claims. There were matrimonial alliances with the contemporary Rajput families of different lineages in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some of these families not only belonged to respectable lineages but were also important political powers. Allaṭa had a queen from a royal Hūṇa family of central India.[40] Hūṇa princess Hāriyādevī (the name seems to suggest that this Hūṇa family had already

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38. D. Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, op. cit., p.34. Also see, Idem, RTA, op. cit., p.249.

39. The State, 1000-1700, op. cit., p.241. Hermann Kulke's following observations on Orissa can be compared with the political situation of the Guhila of Nāgdā-Āhaḍ in tenth century, 'The relations with the nuclear areas of neighbouring princes, often separated by extensive forests, created no problems in this early phase. They were mainly limited to marriage relations and sporadic campaigns, which however remained in this early period without any significant long-term consequences. Permanent subjugation and annexation after a military victory were still scarcely conceivable. Considering the power potential at the disposal of the early local principalities, the neighbouring seats of the rulers were still far beyond their sphere of permanent political control'.

40. Āṭpura Inscription of Śaktikumāra, op. cit., vv.4-5. '*Rāṣṭrakūṭakulodbhūta mahālakṣmīriti priyā 1 Abhūddyasyābhavattasyāṁ tanayaḥ Śrīmadallaṭah 1 sa bhūpati-yā Yasya Hūṇa Kṣonīsavaṁśaja Hāriyādevī yośo bhāti Harṣapurahavayam.*'

been absorbed into the Rajput fold, which facilitated a Guhila-Hūṇa marriage) is also called the founder or an associate of the town of Harṣapura (Harshuada, district Hoshangabad). The Hūṇas may have sought matrimonial alliance with Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa to thwart the rising Paramāra power of Malwa. The alliance also secured for the Guhilas a political ally in the Hūṇas of Central India against the Paramāra. Bhartṛipaṭṭa's queen Mahālakṣmī is stated to have been of Rāṣṭrakūṭa ancestry (most probably Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī, Marwar),[41] Naravāhana also had a Cāhamāna queen[42] and Śucivarman (Śaktikumāra's grandson) had a Caulukyan princess, Mahimā (daughter of Caulukya Seḍuka) as his wife.[43] Not only the ruling family but their important functionaries also began to seek matrimonial alliances with respectable Rajput families. Two epigraphical records of A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1008 refer to the two wives of Guhila Mahāsāmantādhipati of Nāgahrada (Nāgdā) as Mahārājñī Sarvadevī, daughter of a *mahāsāmantādhipati* of the *Sūryavaṁśī* family and *mahārājñī* Jājukā, daughter of a *mahāsāmantādhipati* of another *Sūryavaṁśī* family of Bharukachha.[44]

Territorial extension of the Guhila state occurred in the late eleventh century to the north, beyond the traditional boundary of Mewar, into the Godwar region. Kadmal plates record the grant of the fifth part of the produce of

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41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., v.7. '*nṛipa Naravāhanah Cāhamānānavayodbhūtā Śrī Jejayānṛpatmajā*'.

43. A stone inscription in the temple of Hastamātā, N.D. around eighth decade of A.D. 10th century, A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, op. cit., p.73, 1.5.

44. ARRM, 1936, p.2.

the village Pallī by Guhila King Vijayasiṁha to a *brāhmaṇa* *Unānālācārya*.[45] The village of Palli has been identified with the modern town of Pali in the district of Pali (Godwar region).[46] Godwar region was commercially strategic to Rajasthan as the trade route to the sea-coast of Gujarat from northern India passed through it in this period.[47] The credit for annexing Godwar is likely to go to Vairīsiṁha, father of Vijayasiṁha, as is evident from eulogies and military exploits of Vairīsiṁha recorded in the Kadmal plates.[48]

It is likely that enmity with the Paramāras of Malwa continued into the late eleventh century. But by this period the Paramāras were a declining political power and Vairīsiṁha's military exploits must have put an end to the Paramāra ambition in Mewar. A small Paramāra power which had ruled in Vagod (Dungarpur-Banswara districts) between Arthuna (Banswara district) between the early eleventh and late eleventh centuries does not seem to have existed in Vagod beyond 1100.[49] Arthuna inscriptions of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja dated A.D. 1078 and 1080 seem to be the last of the Paramāra records in Vagod. Therefore, with fast changing political configurations in Western and Central India, the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa entered into matrimonial relation-

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45. Kadmal Plates of A.D. 1083, op. cit., ll.12-38.

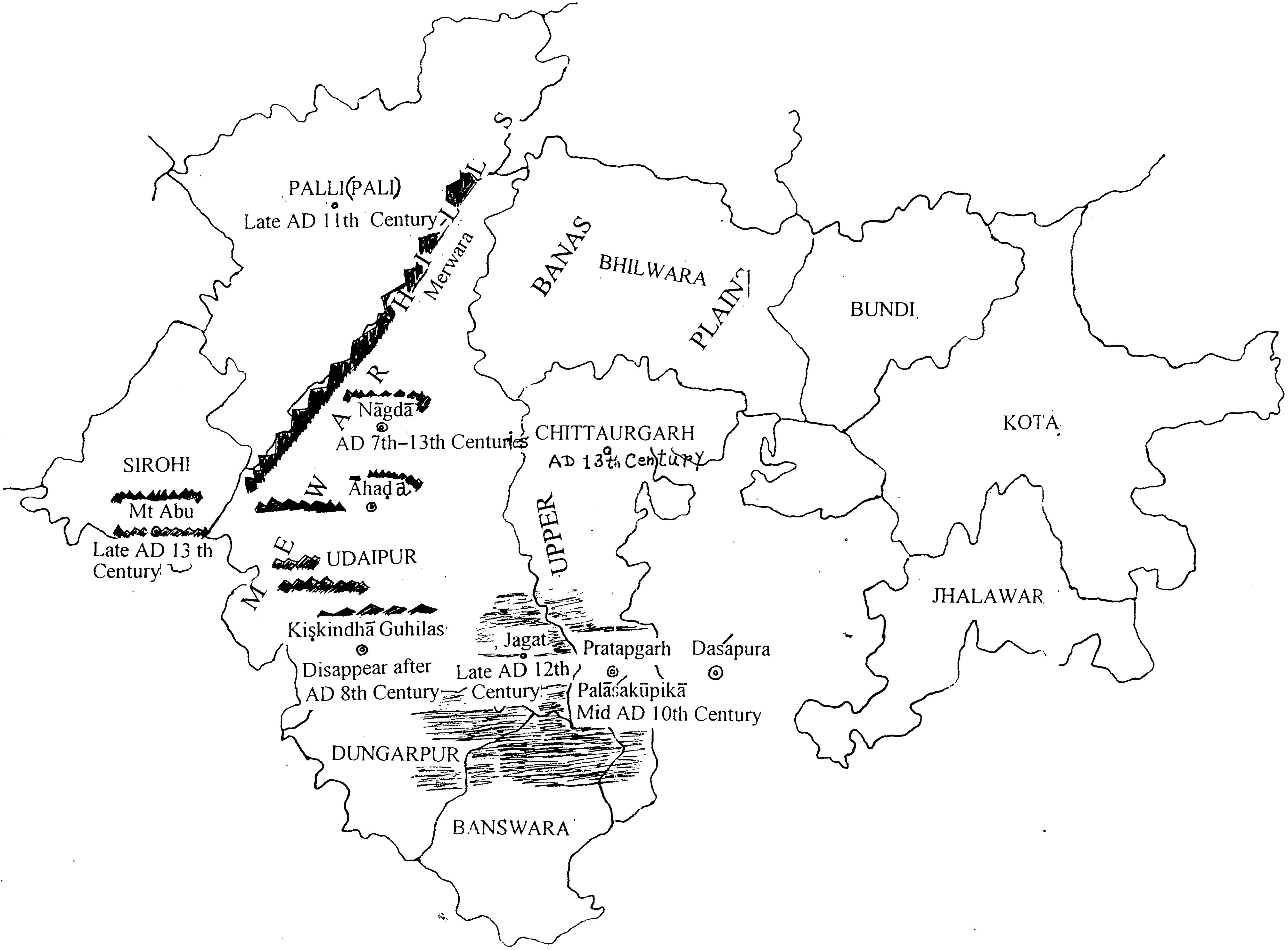
46. Ibid.

47. V.K. Jain, op. cit., see the relevant Map.

48. Kadmal Plates, op. cit., p.246, v.8.

49. Presence of the Paramāras of Malwa in Vagod is evident from the following inscriptions: Bhoja's Banswara Plates of A.D. 1021, EI, Vol. XI, pp.181-183 Panahera Inscription of Māṇḍalika Jayasiṁhadeva of Malwa of A.D. 1059, EI, Vol. XXI, pp.42-50. Arthuna Inscription of the time of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja of A.D. 1078 and 1080, WC, March 1915, p.35.

Territorial Integration And Expansion By the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas AD 7th -13th Centuries



Matrimonial Alliances of the Guhilas Inscriptionally Located Outside Mewar : AD 10th -12th Centuries

ship with the Paramāras of Malwa at this stage of their history. The Bheraghat inscriptions of the Chedi year 907 (A.D. 1155) mention that Guhila King Vijayasiṁha married Śyāmalādevī, the daughter of Paramāra King Udayāditya of Malwa (A.D. 1060-87).[50] This alliance seems to have been utilized as a joint front against the advancing ambitions of Caulukyan ruler Bhīma I (A.D. 1022-1064). The Bheraghat inscription also states that Śyāmalādevī was the mother of Alahaṇadevī, the queen of Kalacuri Gayākarṇa of Ḍāhāla.[51]

It was in the early twelfth century that the history of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas witnessed a significant development. The Guhilas for the first time in their history identify themselves as the sovereigns of the region of Mewar and hence, an important step towards regional state formation. The Paldi inscription of Guhila Arisiṁha (son of Vijayasiṁha) A.D. 1116 proclaims the king as the ruling prince of Medapāṭa (*Bhūpāle Medapāṭamahimām*).[52] Thus the identification of the Guhila king with the king of Mewar is a proof of the claim of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas on the region of Medapāṭa at this point of their history.

In spite of brief Caulukyan intrusion into the Vagod region (Dungarpur-Banswara districts, Middle Mahi Basin), as suggested by short inscriptional records of Caulukyan King Bhīmadeva II of Gujarat of A.D. 1196[53] and of Siddharāja

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50. Bheraghat Inscriptions of Chedi year 907 (A.D. 1155), EI Vol.II, pp.7-17.

51. Ibid.

52. Paldi Inscription of Arisiṁha of A.D. 1116, EI, Vol.XXX, pp.8-12, vv.7-9.

53. ARRM, 1915, p.3.

Jayasiṁha dated to the last decade of the twelfth century,[54] a branch of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas came to command a major portion of the middle Mahi basin in the late twelfth century.[55] If they held some territorial claims in the southern part of upper Banas plain in the mid-tenth century, they seem to have integrated this territory into their state as is evident from the Jagat inscription of Guhila Sāmantasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1172.[56] It is significant that unlike the status of the Pratīhāras in the tenth century in the upper Banas plain, the Guhilas in Jagat inscription figure as sovereigns on their own.

The zenith of territorial integration was finally achieved in the thirteenth century. It was then that the ancient political landmark of Mewar, the fortress of Chittaur, was finally occupied by the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas. A number of Guhila records were issued from the period of the reign of Tejasiṁha from Chittaur.[57] Jaitrasiṁha is eulogized in the Achaleśvara inscription of Samarasiṁha (his grandson) as the protector of the earth through the exploits of his arms and also as the destroyer of Naḍūla.[58] He is also eulogized as occupant of a throne along with the mon-

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54. Ibid.

55. See the last Section of this chapter: Dungarpur Guhilas.

56. Ibid.

57. (i) Two Inscriptions of Tejasiṁha from Ghaghsa (near Chittaur), A.D. 1265, URI, op. cit., pp.176-176. (ii) Chittaur Inscription of the time of Samarasiṁha of A.D. 1285, op. cit. (iii) Chittaur Inscriptions of A.D. 1287 of the reign of Samarasiṁha. PRAS, WC, 1905-06, pp.61-62, URI, p.177.

58. Achaleśvara Inscription of Samarasiṁha, IA, Vol.XVI, pp.345-355, v.42.

arch of the gods, Indra.[59] As to the age of Jaitrasiṁha, an inscription of Samvat 1322 from Chittaurgarh refers to the reign of Guhila King Jaitrasiṁha, who is spoken of as a brother of Padmasiṁha.[60] Thus from all the available evidence it seems that Jaitrasiṁha was the first Guhila King who actually occupied the fortress of Chittaur: whereby the political sovereignty of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas over all Mewar was sealed. Chittaur was the ancient political landmark of Mewar. Chittaur which began its career at Nāgarī, the capital of the Śibis, went on to be the political centre of ancient Mewar under the Aulikāras, the later Morīs of eastern Rajasthan and western Uttar Pradesh, came under the control of the Cāhamānas, Pratīhāras, Paramāras and Caulukyas,[61] before it came to the Guhilas. The special mention of the rooting out of Naḍūla by Jaitrasiṁha implies the occupation of the Godwar region (Pali district) by the Guhilas.[62] As noted, it is evident from the Kadmal plates that the Guhilas had established their sway over Godwar by the late eleventh century. But because of the rise of the Nāḍol Cāhamānas the Guhilas had to reassert themselves again in Godwar in the thirteenth century. The occupation of Chittaur formally integrated greater part of upper Banas Plain into the Guhila state. The end of the Imperial Cāhamāna power in central Rajasthan (with the defeat of Pṛithvīrāja III at the battle of Tarrain in A.D. 1192) evidently facilitated the conquest of Chittaur. The Cāhamāna occupation of Chittaur and the upper Banas plain in the late

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59. Ibid.

60. PRAS, WC, 1905-06, pp.61-62.

61. Inscription of Kumārapāla from Chittaurgarh of A.D. 1151-52, EI, Vol.II, pp.421-424.

62. Achaleśvara Inscription, op. cit.

twelfth century is evident from Bijolia and Menal stone inscriptions (both in Bhilwara district) of the reign of Pṛithvīrāja III of A.D. 1168 and A.D. 1170 respectively.[63] The Achaleśvara inscription of Samarasiṁha proves the sway of the Guhilas over the Mount Abu region (inscription was issued from the temple of Achaleśvara, Mount Abu) as well as much of Godwar, controlling routes to Gujarat sea-ports.

Thus the thirteenth century was the decisive period in the history of the state: Mewar finally came to have its own political identity as a regional state. The Guhila acquisition of Chittaurgarh extended sovereignty over Vagod (districts of Dungarpur Banswara) as well. The fifteenth century official claim that Jaitrasiṁha ruled over Citrakūṭa, Medapāṭa, Āghāṭa and Vagod,[64] reflects the actual political situation of the Guhilas as they acquired Chittaurgarh.

Thus in contrast to the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā and Dhavagartā (seventh-eighth centuries), the Guhila royal family of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa stands out as the effective sovereign of Mewar. Of all the Guhila ruling families of Mewar and beyond it was the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa family which successfully laid the foundation of a state structure.[65]

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63. (i) Bijolia Inscription, EI, Vol.XXVI, pp.105 ff. (ii) Menal Inscriptions, PRAS, WC, 1905-06, pp.57 and 60.

64. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 3rd Slab, EI, Vol.XXIV, p.325, v.155.

65. See Hermann Kulke (ed.), The State in India: A.D. 1000-A.D. 1700, op. cit., p.235. `But it was characteristic for the further early medieval development of the post-Gupta period that the vast majority of early medieval kingdoms did neither arise from the centres of the Gupta empire nor from its provincial capitals. They arose rather in their autonomous peripheral hinterland and in intermediate regions which had not yet been conquered but which already had come under the wide range of influence of the Gupta empire. These were therefore regions in which local princes had the chance

Inevitably there were also further, new, and prestigious genealogical claims along with claims of sovereignty over Mewar. The Guhadatta legend of tenth-eleventh centuries was dropped from the records and instead the new legends of *Bappa-Ka Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa* were adopted.

B. Resources of the State

We begin with a brief scrutiny of the strategic importance of Mewar in contemporary western India. Mewar formed an important part of the regional circuit of trade in western India. Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, the Gujarat coast saw an increasing maritime and coastal trade; this stimulated commercial activities in the hinterland.

Arab settlements in western India are evidenced by Persian and Arabic inscriptions as well as from the accounts of such travellers as Al-Masudi, Al Biladuri, Ibn Batuta and Al-Qulqashandi.[66] Not only foreign trade but an equally vibrant network of internal trade in western India is evident both from literary and epigraphical sources of the period. Merchants in western India traded in both essential and luxury commodities, ranging from grains, salt, jaggery, oil, ghee, textiles, leather goods, metal goods, animals, spices, betel-leaves and arecanuts to saffron, ivory, coral, gold, semi-precious stones such as carnelian, onyx and cat's

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...Continued...

to establish their local rule under the influence (or better on the model) of more advanced forms of econommic and political development and to consolidate it undisturbed over many generations.'

66. V.K. Jain, op. cit., Ch.IV, p.133.

eye.[67] Some of these commodities found markets in West Asia. The initiative of the local states in helping the trade to thrive can be seen in the political measures undertaken. The kings always ordered the local residents of the land to provide protection to all the merchants and pilgrims passing through their region, and provided them with financial assistance whenever required.[68] In a similar spirit rulers quelled disruptive elements which were impediments to free flow of commercial traffic. In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* Merutuṇga describes the defeat of the Bhils in Malwa by Caulukyan King Siddharāja, as they had obstructed a road.[69] It is evident from such texts as *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*[70] and *Tilakamañjarī*[71] that some rulers and ministers constructed rest-houses, water-reservoirs, charity houses for food, drink, beds and medicines for the needy (mainly pilgrims) at Aṇahilavāḍa, Pāṭṭana, Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Śatrunjaya, Ujjayanta (Girnar), Darbhavalī (Dabhoi), etc. Such measures helped the traders too.

The crucial question is how Mewar figured in this western trade network. In this context the importance of Mewar is its location between northern India and western central India. Mewar became critical for the passage of trade and traffic. True, one could bypass Mewar by travelling through the chief artery, the "Palanpur gap" and Mt.

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67. Ibid., pp.103 and 133; Al-Masudi speaks of Makran emerald sold in markets of Mecca.

68. Nāḍol Inscription of Śrī Rāya-Pāladeva, EI, Vol.XI, pp.37 ff.

69. Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merūtuṅga (trans. M.A. Tawney), Calcutta, 1901, p.121.

70. Ibid., p.99.

71. Tilakamañjarī Kathā of Dhanapāla, Bombay, 1903, p.66.

Abu. This route ran from Anahilapura through Siddhapura, Candrāvatī, Abu, Bhinmal, Nāḍol, Jalor, Bali, Pali, Ajmer and Naraina to Mathura.[72] However, in this context, western Mewar becomes very important because it provided the link route to the major artery through passes in the Mewar hills and forests. V.K. Jain points out that another route ran through Āhaḍa (near present Udaipur, the Āhaḍa of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa), Pol and Idar, joining the Mount Abu route (the chief artery).[73] Western Mewar provided routes to Malwa and central India as well. The route from Ujjain ran through Dhora, Dohad, Arthunā (district Banswara), Āhaḍa, Nādlāi, Nāḍol, Pali to Ajmer and Naraina.[74] But what has not been highlighted by V.K. Jain is the strategic importance of eastern Mewar. The route through Chittaur was equally strategic as it linked northern India with central and western India. The Mount Abu route being a popular trade route (on a vast plain and unguarded) was always vulnerable to the threat of Mongol attacks right from the thirteenth century. This seems to be the compelling reason which forced both Sultans Illtutmish[75] and Alauddin Khalji to make a passage through Mewar to Gujarat in the early thirteenth century and central India in the early fourteenth century

72. V.K. Jain, op. cit., pp.117-118.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Chiravā Inscription of the period of Samarasiṁha, A.D. 1273, EI, Vol.XXII, pp.285-292, vv.15-16. It records the battle of Bhutālā fought between Guhila King, Jaitrasiṁha of Mewar and the forces of Sultan Illtutmish.

respectively.[76] The Chittaur route was defended by the Aravallis and thick forest as it ran through Mewar and Vagod to Gujarat and Malwa. Much has been said tabout the imperial designs of Sultan Alauddin Khalji in invading Mewar in the early fourteenth century. Undoubtedly he had to contain the ambitious Rajput rulers; but the move to annexe Mewar had a strategic importance as well. And it is the same reason which had compelled Iltutmish to ask for passage through Mewar. Alauddin Khalji was not content with the riches secured from Gujarat and with its incorporation into the Sultanate. 'Most of Alauddin's other ventures were mainly directed at securing his communication lines against the Rajputs and safeguarding the empire against repeated inroads of the Mongols. The attack on Ranthambhor and Chittor and his invasions of Sewana and Jalor were mainly for this purpose'.[77] Mewar continued to command increasing commercial importance throughout the period specially in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. An epigraphic study of exchange centres such as Ghatiyala, Mandor, Hathundī, Jalor, Nāḍol, Dhalop, Nārlāi, Sevadi, Kiradu, Chandrāvatī, Arthunā, Panahera, Shergarh, Āhāḍa, Khāmnor and Chittaur (the last three in Mewar), as well as *praśastis* put up by merchant families, testify to commercial transactions in early

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76. Elliot and Dowson, History of India as Told by Its Historians, Vol.III, op. cit., pp.147-48. Ulghu, the grandson of Changiz Khan, with commanders, nobles and families stayed on and provisions for them had been made at Mughalpur in Delhi. The Mongols had crossed Sind in A.D. 1296. Kotwal of Delhi advised Alauddin Khalji to capture Rajput forts not only to subdue the Rajput chiefs but also to close the road of Multan against the Mongols.

77. S.C. Misra, The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from A.D. 1298 to A.D. 1442, Bombay, 1963, p.40.

medieval Rajasthan.[78]

The Guhila centres of power had begun their career on a rural resource base in the seventh century.[79] This material base gradually entered into an age of commercial and urban epoch by the tenth century. The important sites which did not figure in pre-tenth century Guhila records, now figure for the first time. The following is a list of few important sites in the period (i) Āṭpura,[80] (ii) Ekaliṅgajī,[81] situated 14 kilometres to the north of Udaipur, (iii) Paldi, situated near Udaipur,[82] (iv) Jagat,[83] situated on the border of Udaipur-Chittaurgarh districts, (v) Dariba[84] near Kankroli (famous for zinc and lead mines), Udaipur district and (vi) Chiravā near Āhaḍa (Udaipur).[85] Because of the strategic location of western Mewar, a part of the commer-

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78. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan" in Social Science Probings, Vol.II, no.4, 1985, pp.413-440.

79. Vide Passim, Ch.I, pp.38-44.

80. Āṭpura inscription of Śaktikumāra, op. cit., v.10.

81. Ekaliṅgajī temple inscription of the time of Guhila Narayahana of A.D. 971, Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.XXII, pp.151-165. It refers to the construction of temple of Ekaliṅga by Pāśupata ācāryas near Nāgdā.

82. Paldi inscription of Guhila Arisiṁha of A.D. 1116, op. cit. It refers to a temple of Śiva and a Pāśupata monastery at Paldi.

83. Jagat inscription of Sāmantasiṁhadeva, op. cit.

84. Kankroli Road station inscription of A.D. 1298-99 of the reign of Guhila Samarasiṁha in G.H. Ojha, URI, vol.I, op. cit., p.177. It records the grant of sixteen *drammas*, to a temple of a goddess at Dariba mines near Kankroli.

85. Chiravā inscription of A.D. 1273 of the reign of Guhila Samarasiṁha, op. cit., vv.34-40.

cial traffic of western India was regularly passing through Ahad. The traffic was either on its way to Nāḍol to join the arterial route, or to Malwa through Arthunā (Banswara), or to Gujarat. An idea of the nature and volume of trade passing through Āhaḍa is provided by inscriptions. The Nāgdā-Āhaḍa kingdom was regularly visited by merchants from distant places such as Karṇāṭa (Karnataka), Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa (southern Gujarat and northern Konkan) and Takkā (Punjab).[86] Saraneśvara temple inscription of Guhila Allaṭa of A.D. 953 records the grant of a number of commercial cesses levied on these merchants and travellers. Merchants and travellers entering Āhaḍa were asked to pay one *dramma* per horse and one twentieth of a *dramma* and two *rūpakas*[87] per horned animal.[88] It appears that every item entering the market of Āhaḍa was assessed and duly taxed. Therefore, the state exchequer now came to receive commercial revenue in the form of tolls and customs in considerable amount.

Occupations such as *randhanī* (a cook meant for a feast), *dyūtam dharanam* (a gambler), etc., at Āhaḍa also distinguish it as an urban centre, as does the list of grants made by

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86. Saraneśvara Temple inscription, IA, Vol.LVIII, pp.161-162, v.9.

87. Commentary on the Gaṇitasāra of Śrīdhara cited in Dasharath Sharma, RTA, op. cit., p.504, gives us an idea of the exchange value of dramma and rūpaka.

5 cowries	=	1 Pāvisā
4 Pāvisā	=	1 bisā
5 bisā	=	1 lohaṭika
5 lohaṭika	=	1 rūpā (rūpaka)
5 rūpakas	=	1 dramma.

88. Saraneśvara Temple Inscription, op. cit., vv.9-10. '*Karṇātmadhyaviṣayodbhavalāttakkā anyepi kecidiha ye vaṇijo viśanti taih kalpitam madhuripoh pratipūjānāya dānam na kenacidapi vyabhicaraṇīyam drammamekam Karī dadyātturogo rūpakadvayām drammārdha Viṁśakam Śṛiṅgī lāthaṭṭe tulādakau*'.

different categories of residents of Ahad to the temple of Saraneśvara. The list runs as follows: one *ghaṭikā* (unit of measurement for liquids) of milk from every confectioner of the city, one *peṭaka* (amount of money per stake) from each gambler, one *pālā* (a ladle containing four *tolas*) of oil from every oil mill, one *rūpaka* from *randhanī* (feast held for the entertainment of the members of a family), one *chatuhsār* (four-stringed garland) from flower-sellers every day, one *tulā* from the shop of seller of worn-out clothes and one *adhaka* (a measure of grain containing three-and-half seers) from a *haṭṭa* (weekly fairs or a market place).[89] Such a list of residents contrasts with to the list we get from the village settlements in the epigraphical records of the seventh century Guhilas.[90] Grant of a specialised amount of grains from the *haṭṭa* is indicative of the fact that peasants from neighbouring villages converged on Āhaḍa with rural produce and took back goods from Āhaḍa. Thus Āhaḍ must have accounted for the bulk of the income of the central exchequer both from non-agricultural and agricultural items.

Strangely, this busy commercial scenario is not matched by a commensurate number of coins of the Guhilas. The few finds of the Cāhamāna coins in northern Mewar and Dhoda inscriptions of A.D. 1168 and A.D. 1169 (records that the "silver Ajaya Deva coins" were subjected to careful scrutiny and examination and became legal tender)[91] prove that local transactions seem to have been carried out in Cāhamāna

89. Ibid., vv.11-13.

90. Vide Passim, Ch.I, see Grants of the Kiṣkindhā Guhilas.

91. V.S. Agarwala, "Dramma in Ancient Indian Epigraphs and Literature" in JNSI, Vol.XVII, no.2, 1955, pp.71-72. Also PRAS, WC, 1906, p.59.

coins. John Deyell rightly states that commerce continued in the more popular denominations in a trans-territorial context.[92]

The increasing prosperity of Āhaḍa seems to have been the primary reason that prompted the Guhilas to shift their capital from Nāgdā to Āhaḍa during the reign of King Śaktikumāra. The direct inscriptional reference to the establishment of King Śaktikumāra at Āṭapura[93] should indicate the possibility of a fortress being built at Āhaḍa as an administrative centre. The presence of the ruling elite in Āhaḍa must have accelerated further demand for high-value items.[94] Therefore, the new political status of Āhaḍa might have been an additional factor in increasing the commercial traffic at this centre. We hear of *Āhaḍadurga* as an important political and exchange centre in the thirteenth century.[95]

Mobilization of resources took place from other areas of control such as Pratapgarh in southern part of Upper

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92. John Scott Deyell, Living Without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India, Delhi, 1990, pp.146-148.

93. Āṭpura Inscription, op. cit., v.10, '*Śrīmadātapura yutalayām yasya vāsa iti sampada padam*'.

94. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview" in Romila Thapar and Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (eds.), Situating Indian History, Delhi, 1986, p.32.

95. G.H. Ojha, URI, Vol.I, op. cit., p.170, Ghaghsa inscription of A.D. 1261 refers to Āhaḍadurga; Ibid., p.176, Chittaur Inscription of Samarasiṁha of A.D. 1274 refers to Maṇḍapikā of Āhaḍ.

Banas plain.[96] Ekaliṅgajī, Paldi, Jagat and Dariba with their temples and monasteries were emerging as important religious centres. Occasional fairs and festivals at these centres undoubtedly encouraged periodic markets which contributed to the resource base of the Guhila state. Chiravā was a thriving rural settlement with new temples.[97] Because of its proximity to Āhaḍa, Chiravā must have entered by the thirteenth century the circuit of commercial transactions centred on Āhaḍa. Finally, continued mining at Zawar, evident from zinc smelting retort dumps dated between A.D. 1025-A.D. 1280, and once again beween A.D. 1325-A.D. 1690,[98] contributed towards the intensification of the commercial transactions at Āhaḍa in our period of study and later.

Territorial extension in the eleventh century expanded the source of land. Northward expansion of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa, evident from Kadmal plates of Guhila King Vijayasiṁha (A.D. 1083), diverted some of Godwar's resources towards Mewar. The fact that the state was mobilizing resources from the Pali locality is evident from retainment of half of the taxes and income from the irrigational channels for the royal donor.[99]

The accounts of Hiuen Tsang,[100] Chittaurgarh inscrip-

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96. Pratapgarh Inscription, op. cit. Extent of agricultural resources from Pratapgarh locality is evident from the boundaries of the donated field Vavvūlika on the bank of river Nandya at the village of Palāśakūpikā.

97. Chiravā Inscription, op. cit., vv.34-40.

98. R.T. Craddock et. al., op. cit., p.56.

99. op. cit., 11.26-32.

100. Samuel Beal, op. cit., p.271.

tion of King Mān Morī of A.D. 713,[101] Chittaurgarh inscription of Caulukya King Kumārapāla of A.D. 1151 recording grants at Samaddhiśvara temple[102] and Dhavagartā inscription of Guhila Dhanika[103] testify to the wealth of the Chittaurgarh and the Eastern Berach basin in the pre-Guhila period. The Ghaghsa record of A.D. 1265 referring to the building of a *Bāvrī* (step-well) by a member of *Dindu* community in the reign of Guhila King Tejasiṁha,[104] Jain records such as the Ghaghsa *praśasti* of A.D. 1265[105] and the Chittaur stone inscription of A.D. 1267 referring to the *ācāryas* of the Chaitragaccha,[106] inscriptions from Menal and Bijolia recording the grant of *drammas* to a temple of Mahānāl (Śiva)[107] and the grant of a village to a Jain temple of Pārśvanāth[108] respectively point towards the range of economic activities in Chittaurgarh locality in the Guhila period. Mobilization of resources by the Guhila state from the local commercial transactions is evident from the royal dues levied on the *Maṇḍapikā* (custom houses) in Chittaurgarh

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101. op. cit. The record proves tht Chittaurgarh was the capital town of the Morīs.

102. op. cit., vv.26-27.

103. op. cit., ll.5-13.

104. Ghaghsa Record (near Chittaurgarh) of A.D. 1265 of the reign of Guhila Tejasiṁha in G.H. Ojha, URI, Vol.I, op. cit., p.170.

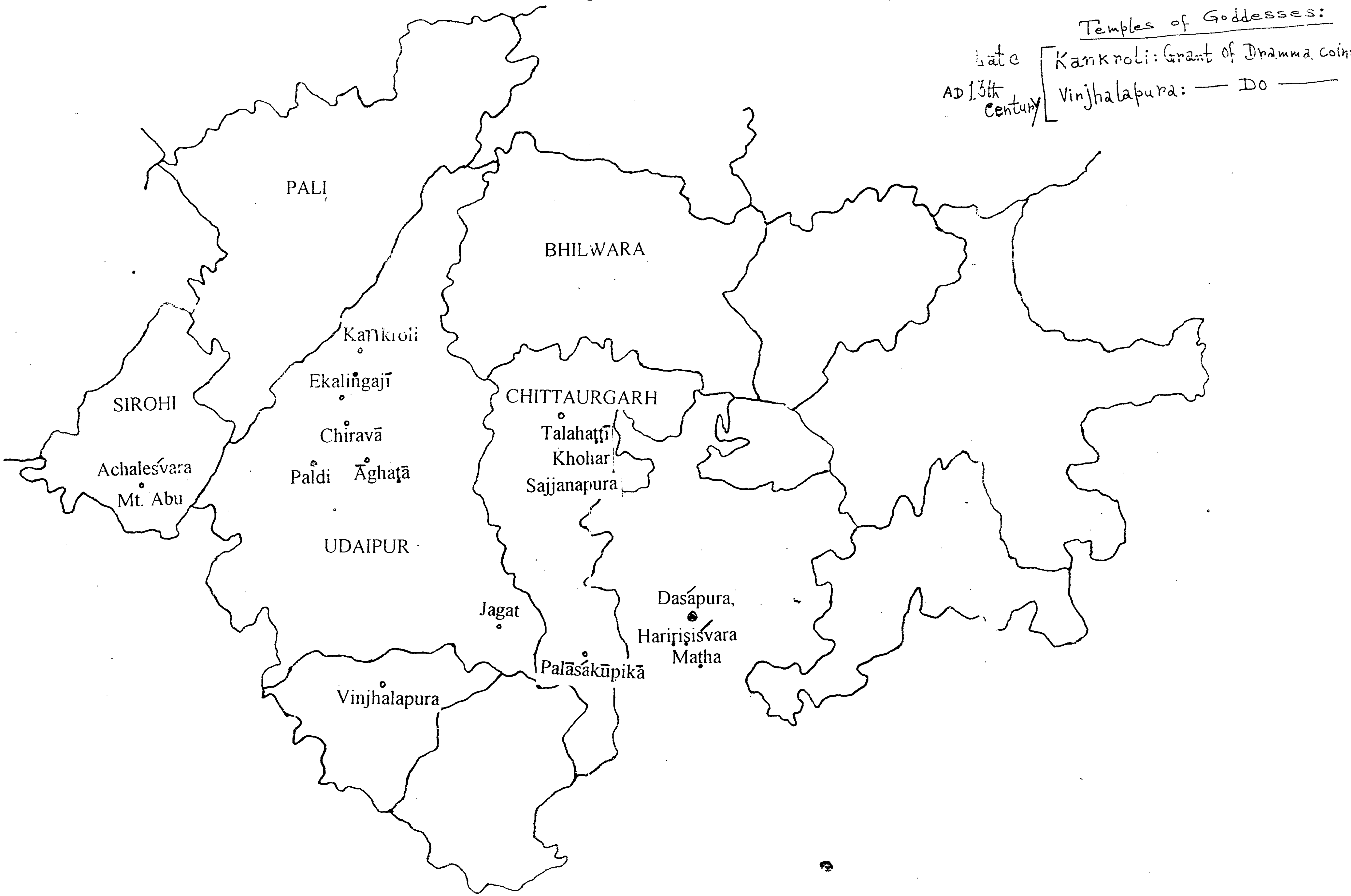
105. ibid.

106. Chittaur Stone inscription of A.D. 1267 in G.H. Ojha, Ibid.

107. Menal Stone inscription of A.D. 1168 Cāhamāna queen Suhavādevī, PRAS, WC, 1905-06, pp.57 and 60.

108. Bijolia Stone inscriptions of A.D. 1168 and A.D. 1169 of the reign Cāhamāna Someśvara, EI, Vol.XXXVI, pp.84-112.

Guhila References to the Mandapikās in the 13th Century And Religious Centres Having Occassional Fairs AD 10th - 13th Centuries



belt. The Chittaurgarh inscription of Samarasiṁha of A.D. 1274 records a royal grant of a few *drammas* and such items as ghee, oil, etc. which were made from the *Maṇḍapikās* (custom houses) of Talhaṭṭī, Āghāṭa (Āhaḍa), Khohar and Sajjanpura to a Jain temple of Pārśvanāth.[109] Except Āghāṭa (Āhaḍa, Mewar hills), the other places are all located near Chittaurgarh. Āghāṭa, evidently came to acquire a *Maṇḍapikā* for the first time in the thirteenth century (definitely after the tenth century). Further, increasing mining activities in the Mewar hills and incorporation of important mining centres other than zawar within the commercial network (evident from Kankroli Road-station inscription of the period of Samarasiṁha[110]) and control of the Mount Abu region,[111] accelerated the process of resource mobilization particularly in terms of commercial revenue for the Guhila state.

In contrast, the two Guhila houses of Unstra and Bagodia (Marwar region) clearly had poorer resources as they operated from a semi-arid locality. Although the grants made by the Nāḍol Guhilas consisted of agrarian and commercial levies, the limited area of control restricted their resource base. The Guhila chiefs of Māṅgrol in coastal Saurashtra were evidently able to tap greater wealth from the continuous flow of commercial traffic. The *per diem* grant made by Guhila Mūlaka to the temple of Sahajigeśvara

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109. Ibid.

110. op. cit.

111. Achaleśvara inscription of Samarasiṁha of A.D. 1285, op. cit., contains a *praśasti* of Mount Abu locality and implies Samarasiṁha's acquisition of Mount Abu. vv.49-59, '*Arbudo bijayete girirūchchai sevita kulācalaratnam yatra ṣoḍaśavikāravipākairūñjhitokṛita tapāṁsi vaśiṣṭhah*'.

comprised one *Kārṣāpaṇa* from Maṇḍapikā of Śrī Māṅgalapura, one *Kārṣāpaṇa* from the revenue of Talāra (Talarakṣaka of Māṅgalapura) and one *Kārṣāpaṇa* or every *mānaka* (unit of load) from a pack-bullock, four *Kārṣāpaṇas* on every cart-load of grain, and one silver piece from the transit duties at *Maṇḍapikā* on the road to Lālhevādā.[112] The *mahājanas* of Choravād also donated a *vāo* (well) called Deguṇā to the same temple.[113] However, the actual control and mobilization of resources was defined by their exercise of political power as *Nāyakas* of Saurashtra. Their resource base seems to have been essentially confined to *Māṅgalapura*.

C. ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY APPARATUS: A.D. 10TH CENTURY-MID 13TH CENTURY

The administrative and military apparatus of the Guhila state evolved in the same period, as the state became complex, and the scope of administrative and military activities widened, as befits a regional (rather than local) power.

Most of the local Rajput chiefs had been integrated into the state structure by the tenth century in different capacities. It is important to locate the chiefs as officials at the strategic points. Thirdly, there was the emergence of various departments of administration. Finally, new offices of military administration and official references to forts have to be considered.

The centres of administrative importance for a local state would be the exchange centres, religious centres, mines, and centres merging into tribal territory. B.D.

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112. Sobhadivāo Stone Inscription, op. cit., vv.6-8.

113. Ibid.

Chattopadhyaya points out the importance of fortresses as foci of control in the early phase of ascendancy of Rajputs.[114] The exchange centres of importance in the Guhila state, as evident from inscriptional records, were Araṇyakūpagiri,[115] Āhaḍa,[116] Pratapgarh,[117] Khohar,[118] Sajjanpura,[119] Talahaṭṭī,[120] Mount Abu,[121] and Chittaurgarh.[122] Inscriptional evidence for important religious centres map out the following sites: Araṇyakūpagiri,[123] Āhaḍa,[124] Pratapgarh,[125]

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114. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Origin of the Rajputs, op. cit., p.76.

115. Samoli Inscription, op. cit.

116. Saraneśvara Temple Inscription, op. cit.

117. Pratapgarh Inscription, op. cit.

118. Chittaurgarh Inscription of Samarasiṁha (A.D. 1281), op. cit.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Achaleśvara Inscription (A.D. 1285), op. cit.

122. Chittaurgarh Inscription (A.D. 1274), op. cit.

123. Samoli Inscription, op. cit.

124. Udaipur (Kundāgrāma) Praśasti of A.D. 661, op. cit., Saraneśvara ṭemple Inscription, op. cit.; a marble slab inscription of the reign of Guhila King Śucivarman (tenth century characters); ARIE, 1963-64; Āhaḍ fragmenary inscription of the period of Śaktikumāra (late tenth century), PRAS, WC, 1905-06, p.60.

125. Pratapgarh Inscription, op. cit.

Paldi,[126] Jagat,[127] Chiravā,[128] Chittaurgarh,[129] centres of mining were Araṇyakūpagiri near Nāgdā-Āhaḍa, the copper belt of the Mewar-Hills, Dariba near Kankroli (zinc and lead mines), and Zawar (zinc-lead-silver concentrate) (40 km south of Udaipur city). While most of these important centres are in the Mewar hills, the rest lie in the Upper Banas Plain (See Maps). Therefore, the spread of Rajput functionaries throughout the territorial expanse contributed towards integration of these nodes. The points merging into tribal territory of the Bhils, were all concentrated in the Mewar hills (especially the link routes, passes and Zawar mines).

Unfortunately the sources for the period do not throw light on the nature of the Rajputs chiefships in strategic places bordering the Bhil territory. It may be assumed that some of these chiefs were entrusted with special responsibilities of negotiating with the local Bhil chiefs. These chiefs were indeed administratively crucial to the State. The sources of the period throw light on the important offices of administration and nature of personnel at the seat of power, Āhaḍa. The Saraneśvara temple inscription of A.D. 953 refers to the members of the *goṣṭhikas*.[130] *Goṣṭhikas* were usually the administrators attached to religious institutions. In the case of royally patronized temples, the *goṣṭhikas* seem to have been appointed by the state to

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126. 'Paldi Inscription', op. cit.

127. Jagat Inscriptions of Guhila Sāmantasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1171 and of Guhila Jayasiṁhadeva, ARRM, 1914-15, p.3.

128. Chiravā Inscription, op. cit.

129. Chittaurgarh Inscription (Ghaghsa village) of Tejasiṁha of A.D. 1267, URI, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.175-176.

130. Saraneśvara Temple Inscription, op. cit., v.7.

administer the affairs of these instutions (Ādivarāha,[131] Viṣṇu,[132] Sūrya,[133] Nānigasvāmī,[134] and a number of Śaiva temples constructed by the Guhila royal house).[135] Pratīhāra and Hūṇa Rajputs appear as officials in the *goṣṭhikas* at the temple of Ādivarāha at Āhaḍa.[136] The other important offices of administration evident from Saraneśvara inscription are those of town gate-keepers or door-keepers (Pratīhārī) and managers of ecclesiastical affairs (dharma). Pratīhāra Rudrahāsa and Rāhata appear as pratihārīs. Hūṇa Kāṣtika and Śrīdhara occupy the office of ecclesiastical affairs.[137] Hūṇa Maṭṭaṭa appears as King Allaṭa's minister (*amātya*).[138] Thus, important members of the Pratīhāra and Hūṇa lineages were integrated through important administrative ranks.

Since Guhila Allaṭa had a Hūṇa queen from central India,[139] matrimonial alliances of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas in the early phase of their rise helped organize a network of power.[140] Hūṇa members of *goṣṭhikas* and Hūṇa Maṭṭaṭa as

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131. Udaipur Praśasti of A.D. 661, op. cit.

132. Saraneśvara Inscription, op. cit., v.1.

133. Āhaḍa Fragmentary inscription of the time of Śaktikumāra, PRAS, WC, 1905-06, p.60, No.2233.

134. Āṭpura Inscription, op. cit., v.1.

135. A marble stone inscription of King Śucivarman, op. cit.

136. Saraneśvara Temple Inscription, op. cit., vv.6&7.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid., v.7, '*Hūṇaśca kṛiṣurājonyah sarvadevopi goṣṭikah kṛitamāyatanam cedamamātye maṭṭaṭe sati*'.

139. Āṭpura Inscription, op. cit., vv.5-6.

140. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Origin of the Rajputs, op. cit., pp.77-79.

minister could be kinsmen of queen Hāriyādevī. Similarly members present in the royal court from Rajput lineages such as Caulukyas, Paramāras, Cāhamānas, figuring in Guhila records (in the context of matrimonial alliances) would have been granted administrative and military posts; and thereby co-opted. Although we do not have direct evidence, there is no reason to believe the absence of important administrative posts as recorded in the grants of the Kiṣkindhā Guhilas, as those of Pratisāraka, Śaulkika, gāmāgāmika, balādhikṛta, daṇḍanāyaka,[141] must have been some of the other administrative offices, indispensable to Guhila state in the period. The presence of the office of Śaulkika is indirectly evident from the reference to collection of tolls and customs at Āhaḍa.[142]

Cāhamānas appear as important officials in the eleventh century. It is evident from the Kadmal Plates that a *dūta* (messenger) Raṇadhavala, son of Sagamḍā, was a Cāhamāna *Rājaputra*.[143] A Solaṅkī Rājaputra figures as an important member of the *goṣṭhika* in the twelfth century. The Paldi inscription of A.D. 1116 refers to *Saulaṅkī Rājaputra* Śrī Sālakhārana, the son of Rājaputra Śrī Upala.[144] As late as the early thirteenth century, Rajputs continued to occupy the top ranks in administration. It seems from the Chiravā inscription that Bhīmasiṁha and his son Rājasiṁha served Jaitrasiṁha and Tejasiṁha as ministers (*pradhānyam*

141. The Grants of the Kiṣkindhā Guhilas, Vide Passim, Ch.I, pp. 43-44

142. Saraneśvara Temple Inscription, op. cit., vv.9-11.

143. op. cit., 11.39-40.

144. op. cit., 11.15-16.

prāpya)[145] respectively. It is also noted that Bhīmasiṁha had to die fighting for the state of Mewar against Gujarat (diverged to military function).[146] There is only a solitary instance of a Kāyastha official, Pālavellaka, the writer of saraneśvara inscription of A.D. 953.[147]

Local Level Administration

Given the extensive rural base of the state, local level administrative bodies can be expected to have expanded. However, the term *Pañcakulika* figures in only one royal record of the period. The scribe of the Kadmal plates of Guhila Vijayasiṁha (A.D. 1083), Nāgapāla the son of Pandita Unhila, belonged to the *Pañcakulika* caste.[148] This stray evidence does not speak for absence of the *Pañcakulika* throughout the expanse of the territory. The members in such corporate bodies are likely to be the notables of the rural society. Appointments made from amongst local persons ensured continuity of tenures at the local level, irrespective of dynastic change.[149] The rural notables of the earlier period such as Kuṭumbins, Vaṇiks, etc. (e.g. the list of witnesses in the Kiṣkindhā Guhila grants) may not have necessarily dominated the local administrative bodies in the later period, as pointed out by Chattopadhyaya in the

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145. op. cit., v.29.

146. Ibid., v.26.

147. op. cit., v.15, *'lekhitārau ca kāyasthau Pālavellaka-sajñakau'*.

148. op. cit., 1.38.

149. Romila Thapar, "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups" in Indian Social History: Some Interpretations, New Delhi, 1978, p.138.

case of early medieval Bengal.[150] Some other social groups such as *mahattaras* in early medieval Bengal might have grown powerful and dominated the local, corporate bodies. However, *mahājanas* make their appearance in rural Mewar as early as the seventh century.[151] However, notables as individual members of rural society (brāhmaṇas, *mahattaras, mahājanas, Vaṇikas*, etc.), remained administratively important even in between 1100 and 1300 without a formal *Pañcakulika*.[152] Even if *Pañcakulikas* were appointed by the kings for supervision of cesses from *araghaṭṭa*-fields, transferred lands and *araghaṭṭas*,[153] the fact remains that the choice fell on the local level notables. Thapar also observes the presence of local persons in *Pañcakulas* in post-Gupta period.[154] Chattopadhyaya discusses the presence of *Pañcakulas* in early medieval towns as well, such as Siyadoni in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra realm.[155] However, *Goṣṭhikas* appear to be important in early medieval towns of Mewar such as Āṭpura (Āhaḍa).[156]

Military Apparatus:

The Āṭpura Inscription of king Śaktikumāra of A.D. 977, which lists the Guhila queens of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭa

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150. Aspects of Rural Settlements and Society in Early Medieval India, Calcutta, 1990, pp. 43-44.

151. Samoli Inscription of A.D. 646, op. cit.

152. See Chapter IV Section: Local Level Administration.

153. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, The Making of Early Medieval India, op. cit., p.55.

154. Romila Thapar, 'Social Mobility in Ancient India with special Reference to Elite Groups', op. cit., p.138.

155. The Making of Early Medieval India, op. cit., p.138.

156. Saraneśvara temple inscription, op. cit.

of Hastikuṇḍī), Cāhamānas, Caulukyas, Paramāras, Hūṇas,[157] evidently indicates the presence of these Rajput chiefs in the Mewar hills. However, the most obvious support that the Guhilas received from these local, Rajput chiefs was military. B.D. Chattopadhyaya points out similar military support from the Cāhamānas, Caulukyas and minor Pratīhāra lineages to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra royal family in a much larger territorial context. The settlement of external Rajput elements not only indicates political integration of the local chiefs but also a system of checks against the local chiefs. Matrimonial alliances with Rajput royal families from Hastikuṇḍī and central India are likely to have drawn some affinal kin to Mewar, facilitating organization of a network of Guhila power. However, kinsmen of the royal family evidently occupied higher posts in the military apparatus. The point is supported by two epigraphical records of A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1008. They speak of a Guhila *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (chief of the lords of the sāmantas) of Nāgahrda (Nāgda).[158] If Guhilas occupied the posts of *mahāsāmantādhipati*, non-Guhila Rajput chiefs were the other *sāmantas*. Secondly, unlike the simple reference to the chief leader (apparently commander of troops) in the seventh century record,[159] Nāgdā-Āhaḍa records refer to the formal title, *mahāsāmantādhipati* for the first time in the late tenth and early eleventh century.

The other significant facet of the military apparatus would be the chain of fortresses newly constructed, fortified or captured to guard both the core-area of the state as

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157. op. cit., vv.4-7.

158. ARRM, 1936, op. cit.

159. Kundagrāma praśasti of Aparājita, op. cit.

well as the peripheral belt. Āṭapura, the newly constructed capital town at Āhaḍa in tenth century[160] must have necessitated a chain of fortresses particularly in its northern, north-eastern and southern directions (the western side was guarded by hills and forests). Unfortunately, the lack of direct evidence except for the presence of Kiṣkindhāpur in the Chappan area, deters us from mapping out such centres. It is the presence of newly-inducted Rajputs such as the Hūṇas (central India) or Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Hastikuṇḍī) that indicates the presence of fortresses. The repeated fall of Āhaḍa in late tenth century to Cāhamāna and Paramāra incursions possibly indicates that the military system was still not strong. Yet the state territorially expanded in the late eleventh century, and some of the local strongholds were definitely annexed in the Godwar region to hold strategically and commercially important Pali.[161] Nāḍol (seat of Nāḍol Cāhamānas) was captured by Jaitrasiṁha in the early thirteenth century[162] which apparently extended the line of defence particularly for the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa belt. Finally Jaitrasiṁha's capture of Chittaurgarh evidently brought a number of neighbouring local fortresses under Guhila control.

D. POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH GUHILA MONARCHY

Āṭpura inscription of King Śaktikumāra claims Guhila

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160. Āṭpura inscription of Śaktikumāra, op. cit., v.10. The description that King Śaktikumāra settled at Āṭapura implies construction of a royal fortress at Atapura in the second half of tenth century.

161. Kadmal Plates, op. cit.

162. Achaleśvara inscription, op. cit., v.47. '*Nāḍūlamūlamkaṣa bāhulakṣmīstu rūṣkasainyārvakumbhoyoniḥ 11 asminsurādhīśsahāsanasthe rarakṣa bhūmīmatha Jaitrasiṁhah*'.

progenitor Guhadatta as a son of a brāhmaṇa family which had emigrated from Ānandapura (*Ānandapura Vinirgatah Viprakulāh-nandanoh-mahīdeva jayati Śrī Guhadattah pravavah Śrī Guhila vaṁśasya*).[163] The Kadmal Plates of King Vijayasiṁha of late eleventh century also repeated the tenth century claim to origin status of the Guhilas.[164] Now the question is why it was necessary to invent a myth of migration from Gujarat to Mewar. We must remember that the Guhilas never associated themselves with Ānandapura or Gujarat in before 900. The answer lies in the desire to legalize the hold of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas over their immediate territorial acquisition.

The details of the answers are hidden in the popular annals of Mewar. The transition of power from the Bhils to Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas recorded in the traditions of Mewar have already been mentioned.[165] It was obvious for the state to officially ignore the fact of conquering of the Bhils as they had been made subordinates in their own land. Secondly, the Guhilas had also established their predominance over a number of non-Guhila Rajput chiefs of the locality by the tenth century. Hence, introduction of a migration myth linking the Guhilas with the prestigious Ānandapura brāhmaṇas furnished the task of legitimation of Guhila power over the entire sub-region of the Mewar hills. Legitimation was sought by association with a respectable brāhmaṇa family from Ānandapura in Gujarat officially proclaimed for the first time in Āṭpura inscription of A.D. 977.[166] The annals claim that Guhadatta, the founder of the ruling lineage, was

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163. Āṭpur Inscription, op. cit., v.1.

164. Kadmal Plates, op. cit., v.2.

165. vide Passim, Ch.I; pp. 42-43.

166. op. cit., v.1.

the posthumous son of the last Maitraka King Śilāditya of Valabhi. This not only lends respectability to the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas but also helps in tracing migration roots from outside Mewar hills. It is interesting that legends also claim that Guhadatta was brought up by a *brāhmaṇī* of Birnagar (Kamlāvatī) of Nāgar gotra. She was instructed to bring him up as a *brāhmaṇa*, but to be married off to a *Rājputānī*.[167]

Religious Symbols

Just as it was necessary for the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa state to take recourse to political symbols to legitimize power in Mewar hills in tenth century, it was equally expedient to associate itself with a religious landmark of Mewar hills. Royal affiliation to a religious landmark signalizes beginnings of religious process of State formation (utilization of religion for state functions). The Guhilas sought affiliation with Nāgahrda, an emerging Pāśupata centre in Mewar hills and through patronage of their cult, Ekaliṅga.

The construction of the royal and magnificient temple of Ekaliṅga is recorded in its inscription, A.D. 971.[168] It was constructed in the reign of Naravāhana at the instruction of Pāśupata *ācāryas* such as Supujitarāśi, Viṁśchitarāśi, etc., on the *Trikūṭa* hills at Nāgahrda.[169] This inscription mentions the famous *Kāyāvarohana* episode (the story of Śiva's incarnation at Kārvāna, Gujarat), the origin story of the *Lakulīśa Pāśupata* sect.[170] The episode is a

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167. Tod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.121.

168. op. cit.

169. Ibid., vv.20-21.

170. Ibid., vv.9-11.

description of Śiva incarnating himself on the earth at Kāyāvarohana in Bhṛigukacccha (Broach district, Gujarat). This incarnation evidently refers to Lakulīśa, the founder of Pāśupata sect of Śaivism. He was followed by disciples Kuśika and others.[171] The inscription also records a very significant statement. It states that Śrī Bappaka established himself at Nāgahrda.[172] For the first time in history that the Bāppā Rāval of the legends figures in official records of the Guhila. And he figures in association with Nāgahrda, a Pāśupata centre in tenth century. Another stone inscription of King Naravāhana at the temple of Nātha (A.D. 970-71) repeats the Kāyāvarohana episode: "They (Guhilas) sought the protection of Saṅkara, the lord of Pārvatī..., who favoured Bhṛgukacchah.... There came Kuśika and other *muṇis*, who possessing knowledge and pure bodies took delight in *bhasma* (ashes) and put on the barks of trees and crowns of *jaṭā* (braided hair)."[173] The physical descriptions undoubtedly are those of Pāśupata sages.

Political and Religious Symbols: Thirteenth Century

The acquisition of Chittaurgarh bestowed the political sanctity on the Guhila royal family as the sovereigns of Mewar. As noted, Chittaurgarh had evolved into a symbol of political eminence in southern Rajasthan since the beginning of its career as nāgarī, the capital of the ancient śibis.[174] With its annexation and integration into the expanding Guhila state, the Guhilas could legitimately call

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid., v.5.

173. A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, op. cit., pp.69-72.

174. vide Passim, Ch.I., p.30.

themselves the kings of Mewar. And thus was completed the process of territorial unification. So it is with the Guhila acquisition of Chittaurgarh that the region of Mewar could identify itself with the Guhila royal family of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa.

The culminating phase of this process finds echoes in the new political and religious symbols. It is in the thirteenth century that the Guhilas acquired new political and religious symbols. They were no longer the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa; they were now legally transformed into Guhilas of Medapāṭa (Mewar).

With new territorial acquisitions the point of reference for legitimation was no longer just the Mewar hills, but all Mewar. A significant turn in genealogical structure in thirteenth century changed the political and religious symbols. The Chittaurgarh (A.D. 1274)[175] and Achaleśvara inscription (A.D. 1285) of Samarasiṁha claimed Bappa and not Guhadatta, as the founder of the royal house of Medapāṭa.[176] Guhila (Guhadatta) merely appeared as his son.[177] Thus Guhadatta of the tenth-eleventh century was dropped from the thirteenth century records as founder of the royal family. The records claimed the bestowal of the state of Mewar on Bappa by the Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi with the favour of Ekaliṅga.[178] The sage also gave Bappa, a brāhmaṇa

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175. op. cit., vv.10-11.

176. op. cit., vv.10-12.

177. Chittaurgarh inscription, Ibid., v.13; Achaleśvara inscription, Ibid., p.v.12.

178. Chittaurgarh inscription, ibid., vv.10-11; Achaleśvara inscription, Ibid., vv.10-11.

by caste, a golden anklet[179]*** and Bappa got his brāhmaṇahood exchanged for Kṣatriyahood which was obtained by favour of god Ekaliṅga, who was happy with the devotion of the Pāśupata sage, Hārītarāśi. Thus the new political and religious symbols of the thirteenth century revolved around the legends of Bappaka-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa and the status of Bramha-Kṣatra (brāhmaṇa Bappa receiving kṣatriyahood from Hārītarāśi).

<u>Kinship Structure, Proliferation of the Branches of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas, Expansion of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila Power in Vagod (Middle Mahi Basin) and Emergence of Centres of Power in Upper Banas Plain and Vagoḍ claiming Guhila Lineage:</u>

The first evidence of segmentations of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍ Guhila royal family comes from a late eleventh century record, the Kadmal Plates of Guhila Vijayasiṁha (A.D. 1083). The list reads:

Guhadattah
Bhoja
Mahendra (I)
Nāga
Śīla
Aparājita
Mahendra (II)
Kālabhoja
Khummāṇa (I)
Maṭṭata
Bhartṛipaṭṭa (I)
Siṁha
Khummāṇa (II)
Mahoyaka
Khummāṇa (III)
Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II)
Allaṭa
Mahīpāla
Vairāta
Haṁsapāla
Vairīsiṁha
Vijayasiṁha.[180]

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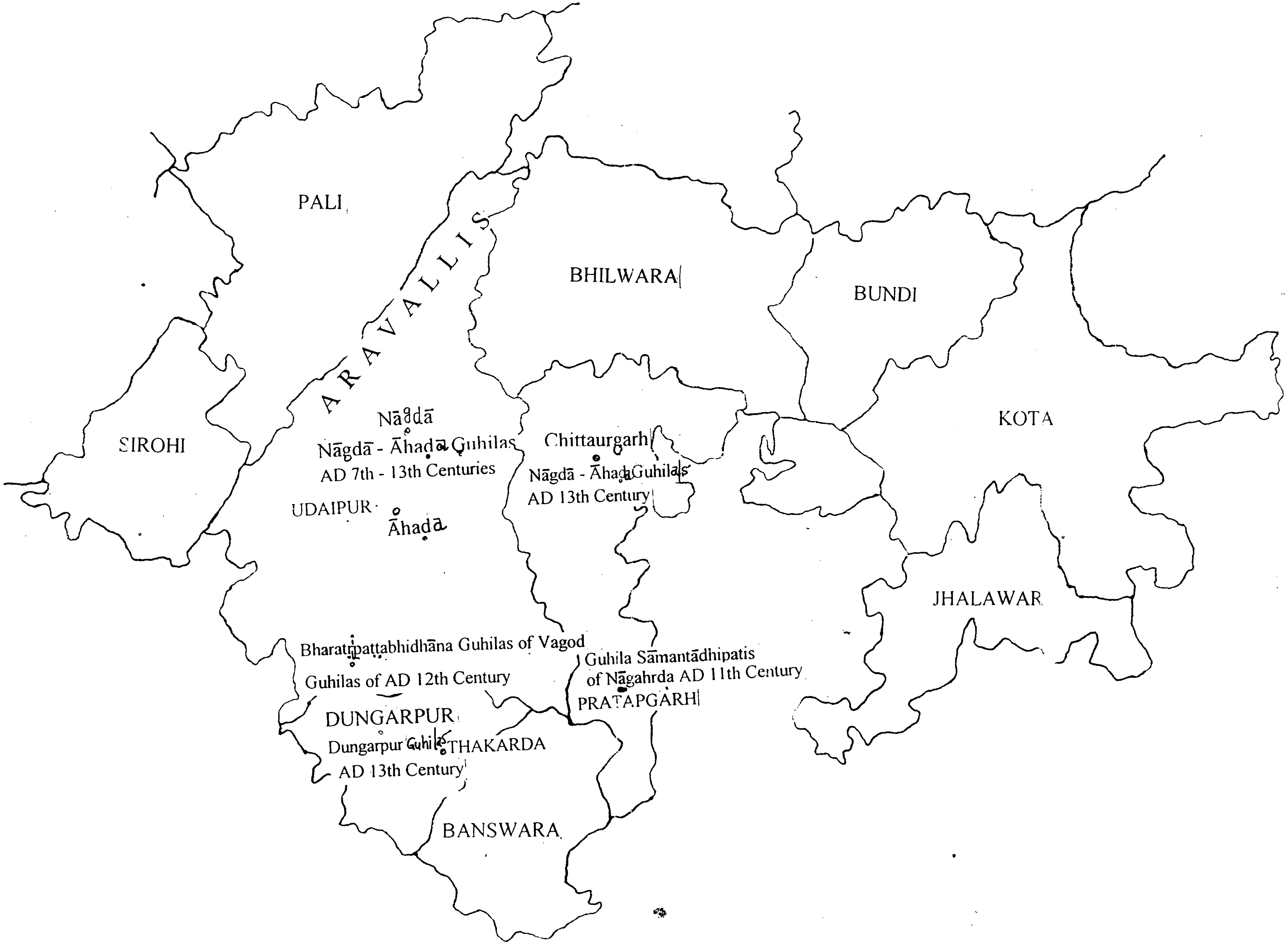
179. Chittaurgarh inscription, Ibid., v.10.

180. Kadmal Plates, op. cit., 11.1, 3-9.

Branches of the Nāgdā- Āhaḍa Guhilas Inscriptionally Located 11th - 13th Centuries



In contrast to previous rulers, the relation of each succeeding prince with his immediate predecessor gets mentioned from Siṁha (the twelfth ruler) onwards.[181] For instance, Siṁha is Bhartṛipaṭṭa (I)'s son [*Siṁho = bhava... daku(nu)va(ta)sya suto = thā(tha) yaje*].[182] It is significant that instead of Naravāhana of tenth century records, Allaṭa is succeeded by Mahīpāla in the present record. Naravāhana, the successor of Allaṭa, is not mentioned by the above record. Therefore, it is obvious that both Naravāhana and Mahīpāla were sons of the same father, Allaṭa. Naravāhana being the eldest, succeeded to the throne in regular succession after Allaṭa. This is the main reason why all the known epigraphical records of the Guhilas of Mewar mention Naravāhana. Now the question arises as to why this particular record omits the mention of Naravāhana and instead proclaims Mahīpāla as son and successor of Allaṭa. The question becomes important in view of the fact that Mahīpāla never succeeded to the throne of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa in the tenth century. None of the Guhila records except Kadmal plates mention Mahīpāla as a Guhila prince. The answer perhaps lies in the fact that only if Vijayasiṁha (the Guhila King issuing Kadmal plates) belonged to a branch of the Guhila ruling family other than that of Naravāhana's, would Vijayasiṁha have mentioned his immediate ancestors (rather than Naravāhana). In other words, Vijayasiṁha belonged to a junior branch of the ruling house. Evidently, this junior branch originated with the younger son of Allaṭa, Mahīpāla. This is evident from the fact that Vairāṭa who precedes Haṁsapāla in the genealogy had obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal place (*anyatra labharā-*

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181. <u>Ibid</u>., 1.7.

182. <u>Ibid</u>., 11.5-6.

jyasya).[183] The fact is corroborated by third slab of Kumbhalgarh inscription, which states that the progeny of Yogarāja (who figures in the main list of the rulers), the predecessor of Vairāṭa, did not attain regal status, though he himself fully enjoyed it, and that the lot finally fell on Vairāṭa who was a descendant of a branch of Allaṭa's lineage.[184] The above genealogical variations as culled from all important records are presented below.[185]

Allaṭa (V.S. 1010 = 953 A.D.)

(Senior Branch) | (Junior Branch)

1. Naravāhana (V.S.1028=971 A.D.) | 1. Mahīpāla
2. Śālivāhana
3. Śaktikumāra (V.S.1034=977 A.D.)
4. Ambāprasāda
5. Śucivarman
6. Naravarman
7. Anantavarman
8. Yaśovarman
9. Yogarāja

10. Vairāṭa (V.S. 1083=1026 A.D.)

In the Kumbhalgarh slabs, the second major segment of the ruling house which branched off with Yogarāja's son in

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183. Ibid., 1.10.

184. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 3rd slab, op. cit., vv.143-44, '*Tataśca Yoga[rā]jo = bhū[nMe]dapāṭe mahī-patihllapi rājye sthite tasmin tach-chhāṣa(khā)no (chchhra)yam]gatā ll Paścād Allaṭa-saṁtāne Vairāṭo = bhū[nna] reśvarah tatah śrīthaṁsapālase a vairīsiṁho nṛipagraṇīh ll*'.

185. Rāja Varṇana section, third slab of Kumbhalgarh slabs, A.D. 1460. Ibid., Chittaurgarh Inscription (A.D.1274) and Achaleśvara Inscription of (A.D. 1285) Samarasiṁha, op. cit.

the early eleventh century is mentioned. Since Yogarāja's son could not succeed to the throne, the scion of the immediate junior branch, Vairāṭa was the next legal claimant. Thus Vairāṭa succeeded Yogarāja. A fragmentary inscription of A.D. 1083 (1026 A.D.) preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur can probably be assigned to the reign of Vairāṭa (the major portion containing the name of the ruling prince and other details are lost).[186] It is important that neither a fifteenth century literary source like the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* (Section: Rāja Varṇana) nor a seventeenth century epigraphical or literary source such as *Rāja Praśasti* and *Amarakāvyam* provide any clue to early junior branches. The question arises as to what necessitated these segmentations of the royal family that led to proliferation of its junior branches. A.K. Vyas is probably right when he points out that it may have been a case of some internal family feuds.[187] But this analysis does not explain the political structure of the Guhila state in this period (tenth-eleventh centuries). Formation of new branches seems to have been the most plausible consequence of the ranking system which was the basis of political integration. Since the very system of ranking was open-ended, political mobility was implicit. `Since the basis of territorial and political hold was not static, rank was not static either. In fact, even inadequate studies available so far would suggest that ranks held by individual families underwent changes that ranks varied from one generation to the next and that aspirations for higher ranks were operative within the individual polit-

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186. Kadmal plates, op. cit., p.242.

187. Ibid., p.240.

ical structures".[188] The formation of Mahipāla's house is a good instance of competition for higher ranks by junior members of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa-Guhila royal family resulting in formation of junior branches. However, it is very important to note that Mahīpāla's house did not remain a separate branch along with Vairāṭa's accession to the throne in early eleventh century.

A new junior line branched out from Yogarāja's successor in early eleventh century. In both the cases, the records are silent about the actual geographical location of their domain. Therefore, it is difficult to locate these new areas of control. Nor can it be expected to be mentioned by the official records of the Guhila state. However, formation of new branches would inevitably locate new areas of control on the map. Only one expression refers to the new locality of control by Yogarāja's successor, *anyatra labdha rājyasya* (Yogarāja's successor obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal kingdom).[189] This expression is perhaps significant enough to tentatively locate these new areas of control. The expression explicitly points towards a locality outside the tenth century Guhila state. If ranking was the basis for political mobility, aspirations for higher ranks could not possibly operate within the given Guhila domain. It was not possible to assign a higher rank to Mahīpāla in preference to his elder brother Naravāhana: the only option was to form a new domain in the mid-tenth century elsewhere.

Much has been stated recently about the impact of formation of junior branches on the paternal kingdom. R.S.

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188. B.D. Chatopadhyaya, Political Processes, op. cit., p.45.

189. Kadmal Plates, op. cit., 1.10.

Sharma points out that the junior branches always contributed to the fragmentation of central political authority.[190] Is concept of political fragmentation at all relevant for the Guhila state, in view of evidences cited above for the tenth-eleventh centuries? Could newly founded small principalities at the periphery of the state contribute to fragmentation? The new centres of power at peripheries are in fact likely to have contributed towards formation of a chain of immediate allies. Secondly, in the tenth-eleventh centuries there were still ample space available in the periphery to settle, and initiate a new dynastic order. Finally, if the junior branches had equal political rights vis-a-vis the Guhila king then would not Vijayasiṁha have mentioned his immediate predecessors between Mahīpāla (the founder of junior house) and himself in his official record, Kadmal plates. The very fact that Vijayasiṁha, a member of the junior branch, remained silent about his immediate predecessors in a royal charter even after becoming king (and presented a single genealogical list of the Guhila dynasty) is indicative of the actual power and status of the junior branches. The fact is further corroborated by Paldi inscription of AriSiṁha (Vijayasiṁha's son and successor) which mentions Vairīsiṁha, Vijayasiṁha and Arisiṁha in succession along with a *praśasti* of the Guhilas.[191] Arisiṁha does not even mention Mahīpāla, founder of the house, in his official record. He names his grandfather Vairīsiṁha. Even Vairāṭa, an actual ruler of the Guhila throne who probably happened to be Arisiṁha's great grandfather does not find a place in the Paldi inscription.

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190. 'Segmentary State and the Indian Experience', op. cit., pp.90-92.

191. op. cit., vv.2-7.

The fact that expansion of kinship networks leading to formation of junior branches became phenomenal in this period is evident from the following expression in Paldi Inscription: *Hārivistāriśākhah Prājyaiḥ Patrai Guhilanṛipatera [Śrī] tottāpahārī* (the expanding branches of the Guhila Kings).[192] B.D. Chattopadhyaya writes, 'channels open for diffusion of such tension would not have been many. Expansion of kinship network, itself encompassed by the system of ranking... could only create new loci of power'.[193] Thus new centres of power did not disturb the process of state formation initiated by the main line; instead expansion of the kinship network caused rivalries, rather than diffusing them.

Pratapgarh Guhilas from Nāgahrda

Expansion of kinship network in the period witnessed emergence of Guhila centres of power in south-eastern part of upper Banas plain. Localities in Pratapgarh region of Chittaurgarh district (southern-eastern part of upper Banas plain) were held by members of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila royal lineage. It is evident from the three inscriptions of Guhila Vigrahapāla of V.S.1053, 1065 and 1066 inscribed on the chattri-pillar of Mahārāvat Bhānasiṁha (Bhāna), a ruler of Deolia-Pratapgarh.[194] The find-spot of these inscriptions is Jiran in Neemach tahsil of district Gwalior. Guhila Vigrahapāla proclaimed himself *Mahāsāmantādhipati* of

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192. Paldi Inscription, op. cit., v.2.

193. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes, op. cit., p.221.

194. G.H. Ojha, Pratapgarh Rājya Kī Itihāsa, op. cit., p.39.

Nāgahrda.[195] The claim to both "Guhila" and "Nāgahrda" along with the rank of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* suggests that the settlements of Guhila kinsmen proliferated. These Guhila chiefs might have been incorporated into the Guhila state in the mid-tenth century as is evident from their rank of *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Guhila king Bhartṛipatta's territorial rights in Pratapgarh and his title of mahārājādhirāja before mid-tenth century seem to support our suggestion. However, G.H. Ojha opines that Pratapgarh Guhilas of early eleventh century were probably the subordinate allies of the Paramāras of Malwa.[196] This suggestion is plausible in view of Paramāra incursions into southern Rajasthan in the late tenth century and occupation of Chittaurgarh.

Bhartṛipaṭṭābhidāna Guhilas of Vagod

The emergence of a Guhila kingdom in the Vagod region by 1100 A.D. is evident from the discovery of a series of inscriptions. These Guhila kings also originated from the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas. Guhila Vijayapāla of Vagod in his Ingoda (Malwa) inscription of A.D. 1133 declared himself to be of Bhartṛipada (Bhartṛipaṭṭa) branch, '*Samastarājā valīvirājitabhartṛipadābhidānaḥ mahārājādhirājaparameśvaraśrī Vijayapāladevena*'.[197]

Thakarda (district Dungarpur) inscription of Guhila Surapāladeva of A.D. 1155 provides the following genealogical list: in the line of Bhartṛipaṭṭa, Śrī Pṛithvīpāladeva, son Mahārāja Śrī Tribhuvanapāladeva, son Mahārāja Śrī Sura-

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid.

197. IA, Vol.VI, pp.55-56, l.2.

pāladeva and Mahārājakumāraputra Śrī Anaṅgapāladeva.[198] Virpur village (Gator, near Jaisamand, district Udaipur) inscription of Guhila Amṛitapāla of A.D. 1185, recording the grant of an *araghaṭṭa* and two *halas* of land to a Rāyakvāl brāhmaṇa, Ṭhakkura Madana, declares the King to be of Guhila lineage in the line of Bhartṛipaṭṭa (*Śrī Guhiladattavaṁśa Śrīmadbhartṛipaṭṭābhidhānamahārājādhirāja Śrī Vijayapālasuta mahārājādhirāja Śrī Amṛitapāladeva*).[199] This inscription also significantly designates Amṛitapāla a Sāmanta in the reign of Caulukya Bhīmadeva,[200] indicating Caulukya sway over Vagod in late twelfth century. This was however short-lived.

The Guhilas of Dungarpur

A major house of the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa that was born in late twelfth century was that of Dungarpur. This branch, known to have originated with Guhila Samāntasiṁhadeva continued to hold the whole of Vagod as a separate kingdom throughout the medieval period. G.S. Ojha in his monumental work, History of the Dungarpur State arrives at the following genealogical table on the basis of epigraphical records, legends and Gazetteers of the colonial period.[201]

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198. IA, Vol.XVI, p.226, ll.2-7.

199. IA, Vol.LVI, p.225, ll.2-5.

200. Ibid.

201. DRI, op. cit., pp.35-38.

Ksema Simha (King of Mewar)

Vagod Branch	Mewar Branch
Sāmanta Simha (Previously King of Mewar & later King of Vagod) (V.S. 1228-36)	Kumārasimha
Jayatasimha	Mahanasimha
Sīhadadeva (v.s. 1277-91)	Padmasimha
Vijayasimhadeva (Jayasimhadeva) (v.s. 1306-1308)	Jaitra Simha (v.s. 1271-1309)
Devapāladeva	Tejasimha (v.s. 1317-20)
Vīrasimhadeva (v.s. 1343-59) 60)[202]	Samarasimha (v.s. 1330-58)
	Ratnasimha (v.s. 1359-

The Jagat (A.D. 1172)[203] and Soloj (Dungarpur district) inscriptions (A.D. 1179)[204] show that Sāmantasimha ruled in Mewar and Vagod respectively in the eighth decade of twelfth century. Now how did he acquire Vagod? Was it territorial extension of the Guhila state of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa or another case of segmentation of the royal family due to kinship pressures? To answer these questions we shall examine the evidences of two royal sources, Achaleśvara inscription of A.D. 1285 and Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* of A.D. 1460. Achaleśvara inscription states that Sāmantasimha snatched away everything from the *sāmantas* and that Kumārasimha had to win back the royalty for his ancestral kingdom which had been lost to the enemies.[205] Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* states that Raṇasimha

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202. Ibid., p.38.

203. op. cit.

204. G.H.Ojha, DRI, op. cit., p.45.

205. op. cit., vv.36-37, '*Sāmantasimha-nāma kāmādhikasarvasundaraśarīrah 11 bhūpalojani tasmādapahṛta-sāmantasarvasvah khummāṇsantativiyoga vilakṣalakṣmīm senāmadṛiṣṭavirahām guhilānvayasya 11 Rājanvatīm Vasumatīmkarot kumāsimhastatoripu gaṇanpahṛtyan bhuyah 11*'.

was succeeded by Kṣemasiṁha, the younger brother of Māthanasiṁha who evidently predeceased his father and then Sāmantasiṁha became the ruler of Mewar.[206] It records further that Sāmantasiṁha was succeeded by his brother Kumārasiṁha who turned out of Mewar a person called Kītū who had somehow taken hold of the country. He also made Āghāṭapura his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarat.[207] Thus some external factor seems to have characterized the political history of the reign of Sāmanatasiṁha and accession of Kumārasiṁha.

It is also from some other near contemporary source outside the house of Guhilas, that light is thrown on the history of Sāmantasiṁha's reign. The Luṇavasahī temple inscription of A.D. 1230 (record of the Paramāras of Abu) states that Prahlādan, younger brother of Paramāra King Dhārāvarṣa, saved the life of a ruler of Gujarat when he was badly defeated by Sāmantasiṁha.[208] Since Paramāras of Abu were the subordinate allies of the Caulukyas of Gujarat, they must have joined forces against Guhila King Sāmantasiṁhadeva. Ojha identifies Ajaypāla (Kumārapāla's successor) as the Caulukya contemporary of Guhila Sāmantasiṁha.[209] Therefore, Guhila Sāmanatasiṁha must have defeated Caulukya Ajaypāla in the battlefield. In 15th Canto of Surathotsava Kāvya composed by Gurjareśvara Purohita, Someśvara (composer of Luṇavasahī Inscription) states about one of his ancestors, Kumara, 'who cooled the many wounds of King Ajaypāla

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206. op. cit., v.149, '*nṛipatve labdhe*'.

207. Ibid., v.151, '*Gurjaranṛipati prasādyamisi*'.

208. EI,VIII, p.211, v.38.

209. DRI, op. cit., p.45.

caused at raṇakheta'.[210] Ojha places the defeat of Caulukya Ajaypāla by Guhila Sāmantasiṁha around A.D. 1174.[211] It is obvious from both the Luṇa Vasahī inscription and *Surathotsava Kāvya* that although Sāmantasiṃha had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Caulukyas, the Caulukyas soon avenged themselves and Guhila Sāmantasiṁhadeva was forced to abdicate.

However invasion by the Caulukyas of Gujarat (combined with cliques of their Sāmantas) seem to have been the determining factor in the ouster of Sāmantasiṁha in the 1180s. Thus lineage fission/segmentation during the royal house political turmoil helped the consolidation of royal power while opening up Guhila centres of power beyond the frontiers.

However after the abdication, Sāmantasiṁha sought his fortunes in Dungarpur locality of Vagod. Ojha places the defeat of Sāmantasiṁha by the Caulukyan forces around A.D. 1175.[212] Finally, as noted, the Achaleśvara inscription says that in his abdication, the local sāmantas of the Guhila state played an important role by projecting his younger brother, Kumārasiṁha as their candidate. Kumārasiṁha seems to have consolidated Guhila power in a period of turmoil with the help of Guhila sāmantas. Details of history of external invasions juxtaposed against Guhila inscriptional evidence throw significant light on the political process of state formation in which local sāmantas contributed to the preservation of the Guhila throne in Mewar.

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210. Ojha, DRI, op. cit., p.46.

211. Ibid.

212. Ibid., p.49.

A Guhila-Caulukya clash during Sāmantasiṁha's period is easily understandable in view of Caulukyan sway over the whole of Mewar. This fact is already noted from Kumārapāla's Chittaurgarh inscription of A.D. 1151.[213] Their continued sway over Mewar hills till early thirteenth century is also evident from Āhaḍa copper plate grants of Caulukya Bhīma II of A.D. 1207.[214] It is also obvious from Virpur village inscription of Bhartṛipaṭṭābhidhāna Guhila Amṛitapāla that the previous Guhila rulers of Vagod (Bhartṛipaṭṭābhidhāna Guhilas) acknowledged their Caulukyan overlords.[215] Thus Sāmantasiṁha could only have a short rule in Vagod as he seems to have been defeated by the Caulukyas between A.D. 1179 and A.D. 1185. However, his short rule was succeded by kings who came to be identified as the Guhilas of Dungarpur.

The above chapter traces the stages of state formation in Mewar on the basis of the political career of the Guhila ruling families in the period. Godwar and Saurashtra Guhilas functioned merely as political components of Nāḍol Cāhamāna and Caulukyan states respectively. In contrast, the Guhila dynasty of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa successfully laid the foundation of a state structure in Mewar. The Mewar hills emerged as the locus of a sub-regional state by the tenth century. Political, economic, social and religious processes of state formation are amply borne out by the beginnings of political integration of both Guhila and non-Guhila chiefs into administrative structure and military apparatus, an expanding resource base, advantageous matrimonial alliances, politico-religious symbols and patronage of a

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213. op. cit.

214. ARRM, 1931, p.4.

215. op. cit.

locally popular sect. Interestingly, as the state grew by territorial integration and incorporation of Guhila and non-Guhila chiefs, the royal family witnessed fissioning necessary to readjust under pressure in an open-ended polity. Increasing power of the Guhilas is evident from their claim of sovereignty over all Mewar. The acquisition of Chittaurgarh in the mid-thirteenth century and new politico-religious symbols identifying the Guhila dynasty as the sovereign of the whole of Mewar marked the climax of the integrative process of territorial incorporation and transformed the Guhila state of sub-region of Mewar hills to regional state of Mewar.

CHAPTER III

MEWAR BETWEEN THE 13TH AND 15TH CENTURIES: KING, KINSMEN AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES

Having discussed the process of territorial integration and emergence of a regional state under the Guhila banner in the thirteenth century our study should have logically ended with the previous chapter. But we had, at the outset, briefly justified our purpose of extending the study of state formation upto the fifteenth century. The purpose is obviously not to repeat the well-known dynastic history of Mewar. Such an extension is necessary for instance, to enquire into the changing political structure, the institution of Guhila kingship and its relation with the royal kinsmen, and the social linkages with the contemporary Rajput powers between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. If findings for the fiteenth century highlight an entirely different political structure than that of the thirteenth century, they certainly highlight political and military problems of the state of Mewar.

Kings and Kinship in the 13th Century

It is significant that the thirteenth century records of the Guhila royal house reveal a situation of consolidation and expansion of Guhila monarchical power with parallel growth in the power of the royal kinsmen. Undoubtedly, the royal titles reflect popular perceptions of the status of the Guhila kings. The earliest thirteenth century record refers to Śrī Jaitrasiṁha as *Mahārājādhirāja*,[1] A Jain record from Chitttaur of A.D. 1267 refers to Śrī Tejasiṁha with

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1. A Fragmentary Inscription of A.D. 1213 at Ekaliṅgajī Temple, Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.389.

divine attributes as *Rājabhāga Vannanārāyaṇamahārāja*.[2] One of the most important of the thirteenth century private records from Mewar, the Chiravā inscription, uses significant titles for the Guhila kings such as *mahīśvara and bhūpāla for Padmasimha*,[3] *Ilāpati* for Tejasimha,[4] *nṛipati* for Māthanasimha,[5] *nṛipa* and *rājña* for Jaitrasimha,[6] *kṣitipati* for *Samarasimha*,[7] and so on, to distinguish the Guhila Kings from the rest of the Guhila royal family.[8] Both the Chittaurgarh (A.D. 1274) and the Achaleśvara (A.D. 1285) inscriptions tracing the ancestry of the thirteenth century Guhila Kings to Bappa, *Purāṇapuruṣa* (primeveal man)[9] magnify his role in the foundation of the Guhila royal power in Mewar. The son born to him was Guhila[10] and the following kings are presented as follows:

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2. Ibid., p.396.

3. op. cit., vv.4 & 12.

4. Ibid., v.7.

5. Ibid., v.10.

6. Ibid., vv.19 & 22.

7. Ibid., v.8.

8. Ibid., v.3, `*Guhilāṇajavaṁśajahpurā kṣitipālotra babhūva Bappakah 11*'

9. Chittaurgarh Inscription, op. cit., v.10 and Achaleśvara Inscription, op. cit., v.12.

10. Chittaurgarh Inscription, Ibid., v.13 and Achaleśvara Inscription, Ibid., v.12, `*Bappakasyatanayo nayavetta Sambabhuva nṛipatih Guhilākhyāh Yasyanāmakalitām kilajātim bhūbhujo dadhati tatkulajātāh 11*'.

Guhila
|
Bhoja
|
Śila
|
Kālabhoja
|
Bhartṛipaṭṭa
|
Siṁha
|
Mahāyaka
|
Khummāṇa
|
Allaṭa
|
Naravāhana
|
Śaktikumāra
|
Śucivarma
|
Naravarma
|
Kīrttivarma
|
Vairīsiṁha
|
Arisiṁha
|
Coḍa
|
Vikramasiṁha
|
Kṣemasiṁha
|
Kumārasiṁha
|
Māthanasiṁha
|
Padmasiṁha
|
Jaitrasiṁha
|
Tejasiṁha
|
Samaraśiṁha[11]

Unlike the Kadmal plates of the late eleventh century and the Paldi inscription of the early twelfth century[12] royal records of the thirteenth century neither acknowledge Mahīpāla, founder of an important junior branch in the tenth century, nor confine the royal genealogy to a few select preceding kings on the Guhila throne (for instance, Paldi

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11. Chittaurgarh Inscription, Ibid., v.v.13-58 and Achaleśvara Inscription, Ibid., vv.12-46.

12. Vide Passim, Ch.II, Section: Centres of the Guhila power between the 10th and the 12th centuries beyond Mewar hills.

inscription of A.D. 1116). Not only do royal records attempt to project a unified genealogy, even records of the important functionaries such as those of the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family from Chiravā introduce each King as a son (*tanuja*) or younger brother of the previous ruler.[13] Presentation of such royal genealogies by the administrative functionaries of the state reveals percolation of the royal perception of its own power at least to the ranks of the elite. However, political importance of the royal kinsmen is not concealed by the contemporary records.

A political hierarchy based on rank is revealed both by the royal and the private records. In fact, when the queen mother Jayatalladevī refers to Guhila King Samarasiṁha as Mahārājakula (Mahārāval),[14] it appears that Samarasiṁha stood at the top of a hierarchy of Rāvals (royal kinsmen; immediate kinsmen of the king). A Kāyastha family from Chittaurgarh also refers to King Samarasiṁha as *Mahārājakula*.[15] Hence, both the royal and private records establish the fact that the Guhila Kings at least by the second half of the thirteenth century presided over a number of Rāvals or royal kinsmen recognised through their formal political status.

The presence and importance of the royal kinsmen in the political structure of the Guhila state is also evident from royal recognition of the lineage of the Guhila and its branches, in their official charters. The royal records which propagate the legitimizing motifs for the Guhila monarch also significantly eulogize the Guhila lineage and its branches as *kuṭhāra-dhārasta brūmahe Guhila Vaṁśam pārośakham* (the axe-edged tree of the Guhila lineage with branch-

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13. Chiravā Inscription, op. cit., vv.4-12.

14. Chittaur Inscription of Jayatalladevī of A.D. 1278, op. cit., 1.6. Also see D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Delhi, 1965, p.405; Idem, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p.271. Rājakula or Rāval refers to kings, royal officers and members of the royal family.

15. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.401.

es)[16] as well as *`śākhopaśākhākulitah suparvaguṇościtah... Guhilasya vaṁśah* (branches and sub-branches of the Guhila royal family are full of fine qualities).[17] The same records repeatedly refer to the Guhila royal lineage as *Guhila Vaṁśa*,[18] *prasiddhaham Gauhilyāmvaṁśa*,[19] *Guhilakula*,[20] and *saṅpatih Guhilābhidhāno*.[21] Royal references to the royal lineage and its branches undoubtedly indicate proliferation of several branches of the royal family by the second half of the thirteenth century. Secondly, royal concern for their immediate kinsmen is evident from the royal *praśastis* of the branches and sub-branches of the Guhila royal kinsmen in the organization of territorial control.

The point is worth considering in view of the recently acquired Chittaurgarh and expansion beyond Mewar. Royal dependence on close kinsmen and failure of the Guhilas to enlist the support of non-Guhila chiefs (of the Upper Banas plain and particularly of Chittaurgarh) seems to have increased the power of the royal kinsmen. Unlike the tenth century reference to chiefs of non-Guhila Rajput families, the thirteenth century records do not mention the non-Guhila Rajput families. At least the non-Guhila Rajput families of Chittaurgarh and upper Banas plain could be expected to have been mentioned. On the other hand, the power of the royal kinsmen is evident from the presence of the Rāvals and repeated royal references to the Guhila lineage.

The fact that kings were reluctant to highlight the ranking system can also be perceived in the conspicuous silence on this of two royal *praśastis* of the thirteenth

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16. Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1274, v.8.

17. Achaleśvara Inscription of A.D. 1285, op. cit., v.5.

18. Chittaur Inscription of A.D. 1274, op. cit., v.5.

19. Ibid., v.13.

20. Ibid., v.60.

21. Ibid., v.13.

century. Although the Chittaurgarh (A.D. 1274) and Achaleśvara (A.D. 1285) inscriptions contain *praśastis* of the branches and sub-branches of the Guhila lineage, they do not refer to King Samarasiṁha as *Mahārāval*. Queen mother Jayatalladevī's record which refers to reigning King Samarasiṁha as *Mahārājakula* designates the preceding King Tejasiṁha (queen Jayatalladevī's husband) as *Medapāṭādhipati*.[22] Hence, royal attempts at designating the Guhila Kings as the "sovereigns of Mewar" in the midst of *Rājakulas* shield rather than reveal political realities. In fact, the evidence suggests that King Samarasiṁha who had attained extensive territorial acquisitions was also possibly the first Guhila King to have been designated as Mahārāval. Such political developments seem to strengthen our view that the Guhila Kings by the second half of the thirteenth century were increasingly depending on their close kin for the consolidation of Guhila power.

We must remember from our study of the proliferation of the branches of the Guhila royal family and creation of the junior houses (Kadmal plates and Paldi inscription) as well as the presence of a Guhila mahāsāmantādhipati at Nāgdā (early eleventh century records), that the royal kinsmen were exercising pressure for upward mobility and some of them were moving away from the paternal state without disrupting it. (See the case of King Sāmantasiṁha, ousted by sāmantas as is evident from the Achaleśvara inscription, and succession to the Guhila throne by Kumārasiṁha, his younger brother.) The fact that kin pressure might have played a significant role in the military defeat of the Guhilas in A.D. 1303 by Alauddin Khalji, is evident from a long absence of the Guhila monarchy in Mewar for most of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the way the last of the Rāval Kings of Mewar, Ratnasiṁha, is criticized for having failed to protect Chittaurgarh in a major royal record of fifteenth

22. Chittaur Inscription of Jayatalladevī, op. cit., 1.4.

century.[23] It also indicates the politics played by the Rāvals in the military defeat of the Mahārāval. However, besides Rāvals, no other political title can be gleaned from the contemporary records.

Having discussed kin pressure and its manifestations in the latter half of the thirteenth century, the royal attempts at projecting the succession of the Guhila Kings in a single line of fathers and sons conceal political tensions and the presence of rival chiefs. It is important to note David P. Henige's observations on Guhila genealogy. "We are asked, for instance, to believe that in the Guhila dynasty of Medapāṭa 32 of 33 successions were of the father-to-son variety, including five ruling generations between 942 and 977 and 18 ruling generations between 942 and before 1168. This extremely narrow royal genealogy is inferred from retrospective epigraphic evidence and from the traditions recorded by Tod. And, given the propensity of the Vaṃśāvalīs, Khyāts, and other chronicles that portray succession as unremittingly from father to son one need not rely too heavily on Tod's account in this instance."[24]

However, the above enquiry has not been made to highlight the centrifugal forces in the Guhila polity in the thirteenth century but to point out the essential problems of the Guhila monarchy in the same period. At a point of time when the dynasty reached its zenith of power its chief political supporters, royal kinsmen, were possibly its worst problems.

The long absence of Guhila rule in fourteenth century Mewar is apparent from the absence of Guhila records with the exception of a solitary private record referring to the reign of Rāṇā Khetā in A.D. 1366.[25] Epigraphic records of

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23. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 3rd slab, EI, Vol.XXIV, p.328, v.177.

24. David P. Henige, `Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a vacuum' in B.S.O.A.S., 1975, Vol.XXXVIII, p.539.

25. Shodh Patrika, v.s. 2010, p.57 (Inscription from Gogunda).

the Khaljis, Tughlaqs and Songirās in Chittaurgarh[26] indicate a change in the political sovereignty in the first half of the fourteenth century. At Chittaurgarh there is an intriguing absence of records between 1350 and 1400. Hence, a study of the fifteenth century royal records becomes an important measure of dynastic continuity.

Kings and Kinship: A.D. 15th Century

Disruption of Guhila rule in the fourteenth century is significantly, followed by the re-emergence of Guhila kingship in the fifteenth century. This is phenomenal and helps in understanding the establishment of the institution of regional kingship and dynastic traditions of Mewar. It was undoubtedly the result of a long process of regional state formation in which the state of Mewar had come to be identified with the Guhila dynasty.

Importantly, the kings of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century were sovereigns of Mewar. They do not acknowledge the sovereignty of any king from outside Mewar. Evidence of their sovereignty is amply borne out by the royal records. Ṭhakkura Dālā refers to the reign of Rāṇā Khetā in A.D. 1366.[27] Earliest of the fifteenth century royal records from Mewar, Mokal's Chittaurgarh and Sringirisi inscriptions refer to an early ruler, Arisiṁha,

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26. At least three fragmentatory inscriptions dated in the reign of Alauddin Khalji including one that is dated in 1314 refers to Alauddin Khalji as the ruler of Chittaur have been discovered at Chittaurgarh, ARIE, 1956, Appendix C, No.126. Also see URI, op. cit., p.173. Two more Persian inscriptions dated in the reign of Muhammadbin Tughlaq have been found at Chittaurgarh, EIAPS, 1955-56, pp.67-68. At least three short inscriptional records of A.D. 1338 including two refering to the presence of Songirā prince Vanavīra as in-charge of fort of Muhammad follow those of Muhammadbin Tughlaq at Chittaurgarh, P.C. Nahar, Jain Abhilekha, Vol.II, Calcutta, 1927, p.242.

27. Shodh Patrika, op. cit., 1.1.

as *Kṣitipati*[28] and Hammīra (Arisiṁha's successor in royal genealogy)[29] as *Bhūpati*. With consolidation of power, titles were magnified; King Mokal was *Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāṇā Śrī Mṛgānka*; so too his successor Kumbha[30] who was also *Rāirāyā Rāṇerāi Mahārāṇā*.[31] Not only royal records, but also those of the Jains refer to the reigning King Kumbha in much more pompous tone (*Śrī Rāmayudhiṣṭhirādi nareśvaranukrasya Rāṇā Śrī Kumbhakarṇa Sarvovīrapatisār Vabhaumasya Vijayamānarājye*).[32]

However, the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century kings of Mewar, interestingly did not trace their genealogy to the erstwhile Guhila kings except for lineage affiliation. They only took to the legends of *Bappaja Vaṁśa*[33] and *anvayo Guhila narapati*[34] in the early fifteenth century. In spite of proclaiming one of their predecessor Hammīra (so far unlisted in Guhila genealogy as a gem in the family of Bappa,[35] Hammīra's kinship linkages to the family of Bappa are not revealed.

The evidence clearly indicates that the early fifteenth century kings, who made no attempts to claim direct kinship relations with the Guhila dynasty of Mewar, were possibly chiefs of local origin from Chittaurgarh. Their rise to power, associated with the fortress of Chittaur, is distinctly evident from the contemporary royal records. The

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28. Mokal's Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1428, Vir Vinod, op. cit., p.402, v.7.

29. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., v.5.

30. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 4th slab, op. cit., v.233.

31. Ibid.

32. Ranakpur *praśasti* of A.D. 1439, Vir Vinod, op. cit., p.410, 1.20.

33. Mokal's Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., v.3.

34. Mokal's Chittaurgarh Inscription, op. cit., v.5.

35. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., vv.2-3.

Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* condemns *Rāval* Ratnasimha (the last Guhila King with the title of *Rāval*) for having failed to protect Chittaurgarh[36] and *Mahārāṇā* Lakṣmasimha is eulogised for having protected it.[37] Secondly, their local origin is also hinted by a private record that refers to King Khetā (Kṣetrasimha) as a Rāṇā[38] while one of Khetā's grandsons Mokal chooses to drop it.[39] Rāṇā, being a politically subordinate title suggests their mere chiefly status in the beginning. Mokal drops the title of Rāṇā from his records to highlight their royal status.

But the Guhilas were so strongly identified with the state of Mewar that no chiefly family, however strong and powerful, could legitimize exercise of power, without claiming direct kinship with them. Later rulers not only continued to appropriate dynastic affiliation to the Guhilas through the motifs of *nṛipati Guhilābhidhāno* (Kings by the name of Guhila),[40] *Bappakhyah Purāṇapuruṣan*[41] and *Bāṣpanvata*[42] (in the lineage of Bappa) but gradually began to claim direct kinship with them. Vague affiliation to Khummāṇa is hinted in an early fifteenth century record.[43] We recall that Khummāṇa had appeared for the first time as a Guhila

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36. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 3rd slab, op. cit., v.177.

37. Ibid., v.177, *Atham Mahārāṇā Śrī Lakṣmsīvarṇanam 11 Khummāvamśa Khalu Lakṣmasimhastasmin gate durga varam rarakṣa Kulasthitim Kāpuruṣai na jātu dhīrāh puruṣāstyajamti'*

38. Gogunda Inscription of Ṭhakkura Dālā of A.D. 1366, op. cit., 1.1.

39. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi and Chittaurgarh Inscription, op. cit.

40. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 3rd slab, op. cit., v.127.

41. Ibid., v.124.

42. Rāimalla's Ekaliṅga temple Dakṣinadvāra *praśasti*, Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.419, v.8.

43. Ibid., v.18.

King in the Āṭpura inscription of A.D. 977,[44] which provided the very first genealogical list of the Guhilas of Mewar. Mokal in the Chittaurgarh inscription of 1429 traces back Hammīra to Arisiṁha, King of Mewar, in the family of the Guhilas.[45] Both the records of Mokal provide us with a genealogy that runs from Arisiṁha to Hammīra to Mokal via Mokal's grandfather Kṣetrasiṁha and father Lakṣmasiṁha.[46] What seems to distinguish Mokal's genealogy is the lengthy *praśasti* for Hammīra[47] rather than Bappa.

However, Mokal neither elaborates upon kinship with the previous Guhila kings nor mentions their ranks. Interestingly, a Jain record, the Ranakpur *praśasti* of A.D. 1439, is one of the first fifteenth century records that refers to the reigning King Kumbha as *Rāṇā*[48] and traces the genealogy of Kumbha to *Bappavaṁśīya* kings and Hammīra to the thirteenth century Guhila king Samarasiṁha[49] starting with Bappa.[50] Thus for the first time, the kings of the fifteenth century attempted to trace their descent in continuity from the earliest Guhila king Bappa to the last of the thirteenth century Guhila kings, Samarasiṁha. Although the genealogical list is silent about the actual relationship between Samarasiṁha and the next succeeding king, the implication is clear. Secondly, the same list also hints at the possibility that Kumbha was the first fifteenth century king to

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44. op. cit., vv.2-3.

45. op. cit., v.7, `*vaṁśe tatrarisiṁhah kṣitipatirājña kṣatrānkṣtra-lakṣmī vīkṣādakṣorūpakṣamābahulajarajanī-dhvaṁsbhāsvadagbhastīh ll vindhyāvandhyapradeśasphu-radmalakhanivyakta ratnākaratvasphāra Śrī Medapāṭakṣiti valaya valadugdhapathodcandrah ll*'

46. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., vv.2-13; Chittaurgarh Inscription, Ibid., vv.7-44.

47. Mokal's Chittaurgarh Inscriptiton, Ibid., vv.10-13.

48. op. cit., 1.20.

49. Ibid., 11.9-10.

50. Ibid., 11.2-10.

resume the title of *Rāṇā* for his predecessor Mokal is not mentioned with the same title.[51]

Thirdly, this particular genealogical list provides us with four more princes of the royal family between Arisiṁha and Hammīra (*Śrī Bhuvanasiṁha, son Śrī Jayasiṁha, Lakṣmaṇa-siṁha* [no kinship term appears], son Śrī Ajayasiṁha and brother Śrī Arisiṁha)[52] indicating continuity in kinship relations. Finally, the clue as to what possibly accelerated Mokal's successor Kumbha to resume the title of *Rāṇā* and trace direct descent from the previous Guhila kings of Mewar without any break is also evident from the same genealogical list. It is significant that Sultan Allauddin is introduced between Guhila King Samarasiṁha and prince Bhuvanasiṁha. Since the genealogical list came from the Jains, the elite perception of sovereignty of Mewar and its political history clearly included Sultan Allauddin Khalji in its own world. Perhaps to diminish the importance of the Khalji interregnum at Chittaurgarh and to highlight the political power of tthe regional kings, Kumbha chose to utilize their erstwhile title of *Rāṇā* that helped explaining their actual kinship relations with the *Rāval* Guhilas of Mewar.

Hence, Kumbha elaborated upon his kinship with previous Guhila rulers by claiming Rāval Khummāṇa as a direct ancestor. As already noted, Khummāṇa had always figured in the line of royal succession in the royal records between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (introduced as Mahārāṇā)[53] is said to be a scion of *Khummāṇavaṁśa*.[54] Importantly, *Rāval* Khummāṇa is introduced right after *Rāval* Guhadatta without specifying the actual relationship.[55] The

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51. Ibid., 1.11.

52. Ibid., 11.8-10.

53. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 3rd slab, op. cit., v.176.

54. Ibid., vv.176-177, *'Atham mahārāṇā Śrī Lakhamsī varṇa-nam 11 Khummāṇvaṁśah Khalu Lakṣmasiṁha.'*

55. Ibid., v.134, *'Iti Rāulam Śrī Guhadattavarṇanam 11 Atha Rāula Śrī Khummāṇa Varṇanam'*.

motif of Rāval Khummāṇa gets magnified as he is provided with an elaborate *praśasti*.[56] *Rāval Khummāṇa* is *nāyaka* (chief)[57] and not king as the *Rājavarṇana* (description of the kings) section of the Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* begins only after the account of Khummāṇa.[58] Hence, the fifteenth century kings gradually affiliated themselves to the erstwhile Guhila rulers by claiming that one of the ancient Guhila kings, Khummāṇa, was their direct ancestor. In spite of the implication that the *nāyaka* status of Khummāṇa would hint at their junior political status in previous days, such motifs smoothened their transitory entry into the Guhila royal family of Mewar. But they never referred to themselves directly as a junior branch of the *Rāval* Guhilas in the fifteenth century. Even in the Purāṇic section (possibly composed in the post-fifteenth century) of the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmyam* the *Mahārāṇās* of the fifteenth century were introduced only as *Aparaśākhā*[59] (Mahārāṇās were the other branch of the Guhilas) and not as a junior branch of the Guhila family. The problem seems to have been tackled by introducing the legends of Māhap, the elder brother and Rāhap, the younger brother, in the Purāṇic section of *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*

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56. Ibid., vv.134-136, `*Harṣādyotolayatsvaṁ nijasutagṛihiṇīsaṁyutaṁ Kāñcanena pradāttadyācakebhyah Kanakmiti lasatkalpavṛikṣopamānah 1 Kīrttiṁ Viṣtārayansvām tu hinadadhisudhākṣīrahīrāvadatām sa Śrī Khummāṇanāma Samabhavadavaner nāyako bhuribhāgya vilaṅghayatī sakalam mahītalam digaṇam vāri nidhon girivrajam khummāṇrājanyaśiromaṇesāvasau narttādbhutakīrttinartakī Aṅgāh saṁprāptabhaṁgāh samrabhuvi param dattanāgāh kaliṅga vaṅgā naṣṭākhīlaṁga śarattihatibhih pātitāṅga striliṅgāh 11 Saurāṣṭra narapati-tilakprasthitau digjayārtham cauḍāh saṁtyaktacūḍā raṇarasapaṭavo drāviḍā naiva Gauḍāh 11*'

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., v.138, `*Iti Rāulam Śrī Khummāṇa varṇanam 11 Atha Rājavarṇanam 11 Atha Śrī Rājavaṁśotra pravyaktah pracyate dhunā 11 cirraṁtanapraśasto nāmanakānāmtah-vekṣaṇāt*'.

59. Premlata Sharma (ed.), Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, Delhi, 1976, p.175, v.62, `*Aparasyam śākhāyam Māhapa Rāhapramukha Mahīpālāh*'.

in which Rāhap is said to have obtained the title of *Rāṇā*.[60] Similar legends with elaborate motifs get further extended in seventeenth century royal records such as Jagannātharāya temple inscription of *Rāṇā* Jagatsiṁha,[61] *Rājapraśasti*[62] and *Amarakāvyam*.[63]

It is significant that Kumbha introduces *Mahārāṇā* Lakṣhmasiṁha in the royal genealogy right after the last of the *Rāvals*, Ratnasiṁha.[64] Thus, claiming kinship relations with the *Rāvals* was only to legitimize power through dynastic continuities. Finally, but not the least, the question as to the importance of the royal kinsmen in the fifteenth century remains to be answered. Undoubtedly, the royal title of Mahārāṇā presumes the presence of rāṇās (kinsmen close to the king) in the political hierarchy. But there is a significant absence of royal reference to *śākhās* (branches) and *praśākhās* (sub-branches) in the fifteenth century royal records. Unlike the thirteenth century Guhila kings, the fifteenth century kings mention neither branches nor sub-branches of the royal family, nor eulogise their lineage. Hence, the royal kinsmen do not seem to have played as significant a role as their thirteenth century counterparts in the consolidation of the royal power and control of territory. The fact that political and social linkages of the fifteenth century Guhila kings with the non-Guhila Rajput chiefs of Eastern Mewar possibly played a more important role in the retainment of Guhila power is amply demonstrated by the contemporary royal references (see following section). Thus, the shift from royal kinsmen to non-Guhila Rajput chiefs of Eastern Mewar in the fifteenth century

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60. Ibid., vv.62-63. '*Aparasyam śākhāyan Māhaparāhapapramukha mahīpālāh yadvaṁśe narapatayo api Rāṇātvamprāptah san prithivīpatirāhapobhūpah.*'

61. EI, Vol.XXIV, p.66, vv.11-13.

62. op. cit., pp.35-36, vv.28-34.

63. op. cit., pp.112-118, Ch.5, vv.2-33 and Ch.6, vv.1-10.

64. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 3rd slab, op. cit., vv.176-177.

focuses on the political-military problems of the Guhila state of Mewar that compelled the state to broaden its social base.

SECTION-II

POLITICAL & SOCIAL LINKAGES WITH NON-GUHILA RAJPUTS AND OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS IN MEWAR

Cāhamānas in Mewar hills:

The Cāhamānas continued to appear as major non-Guhila Rajput chiefs in Mewar hills in the thirteenth century. The Kadmal copper-plate inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Tejasiṁha of A.D. 1259 records the grant of ________→ land to brāhmaṇa Tribikrama, located in the domain of Rāo chānd, Cāhamāna Rāo Sīhasu's son.[65] It is evident from this record as well as Padmasiṁha's late twelfth century record[66] that Kadmal village and its surroundings were essentially the domain of the Cāhamānas of the Mewar hills. The title of Rāo testifies to their political integration into the political structure through ranking in the *sāmanta* hierarchy. The fact that royal records continued to refer to the location of the royal landgrant as the *rājya* of Cāhamāna *sāmanta* indicates the prominence of the Cāhamāna families in Kadmal near Nāgdā-Āhaḍa. The presence of the Cāhamānas in the Mewar hills core-area becomes an obvious factor in making royal landgrants to brāhmaṇas in the Cāhamāna domain. Since the donee, brāhmaṇa Tribikrama, is Śivaguṇa's (donee in Padmasiṁha's landgrant charter) son, the royal dynasty strengthened links with a domain of *sāmanta* by patronizing the same family of brāhmaṇas through the generations.

Down the hierarchy the presence of lower *sāmantas* such as Ṭhakkuras in the *sāmanta* hierarchy is also attested by a late fourteenth century inscription. The Sītaladevī temple inscription of A.D. 1366 from Gogunda village records the

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65. Shodh Patrika, v.s. 2010, op. cit., p.53, 11.3-4. `*Cāhamāna Rāo Sīhasu suta Rāo, chānd sakalarājye Kardamvalgrāma sthiteh*'.

66. Ibid., pp.54-55.

renovation of a temple and installation of an image of Viṣṇu by Ṭhakkura Dālā, Ṭhakkura Ṣātala's son, in the reign of Rānā Kṣetrasiṁha'.[67] Gogunda is a pass connecting the Nāgdā-Āhaḍabelt with the Abu-Sirohi region, traversing a part of the Bhil country. If Ṭhakkura Ḍālā was actually located at this strategic point then the possibility of settlement of chiefs by the state cannot be ruled out. It is evident from the record that the family had been politically integrated into the sāmanta hierarchy only in the recent past as the genealogy of the renovator of the temple is limited to his father, and no mention is made even of his grand father. Ṣātala possibly was the first member in his family to have received the political title of Ṭhakkura. Presence of the Pratīhāra chiefs at Chittaurgarh is evident from the discovery of their solitary record at the temple of Bhojasvāmī (Chittaurgarh) referring to Rājā Dharasiṁha, son of Rājā Paṭā of the Pratīhāra family in A.D. 1300.[68]

Significant changes in the Rajput components of the political structure are discerned in the fifteenth century. This certainly reflects the problems and preferences of the fifteenth century state of Mewar.

<u>The Hāḍās[69] of Uparmal or Pāṭhār (Eastern Mewar)</u>:

Eastern Mewar with the fertile and with well-watered fields thick vegetation, and routes to Central India appears to have been dominated by the Hāḍās in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. The region as far as the Chambal belonged to Mewar throughout the medieval period, and the Hāḍās are known to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Rāṇās of Mewar. The <u>Annals</u> of the Hāḍās refer to the Guhilas as

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67. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.54-55. '*Svasti Śrī Rāṇā ṣe (khe) talade rājye Saṁvat 1423 Varṣe āṣāḍhavadī 13 bhāunae aśvinī nakṣatre sobhana yoge ṭha. Ṣātala suta ṭha. Dālā jir ṇoddhara prāsāda Viṣṇu mūrti pratiṣṭhitam*'.

68. Appendix to EI, Vols.XIX-XXIII, p.92, No.649.

69. Hāḍās or Hāḍā Cāhamānas of Eastern Mewar claimed descent from Bhanwardhan Cāhamāna of the Cāhamāna lineage. See Tod, Vol.III, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.1802.

'the lords of Medapāṭa'. However, the claim of the Hāḍās over this Uparmal region is no less legendary than that of the Guhilas over Mewar. It is significant to note the popular recognition of a small tributary of the Chambal, the Karab-kā-Khāl as the natural landmark dividing the lands of the Hāḍās from those of the Guhilas.[70] The Pāṭhār resounds with the traditional tales of the Hāḍās who, in a very early period, established themselves in this region, where they are known to have erected twelve fortresses such as Bumaoda, Rattangarh, Dilwargarh, Kheri, Nimbahara, Nimach, Jawad, Jiran, etc.[71] However, the Hāḍās were so very powerful in the Uparmal region that even the local tribal population such as the Bhils well knew their supremacy over Eastern Mewar. Bumaoda still revebrates with the name and chivalry of the legendary Ālu Hāḍā.[72] Hāḍā traditions also interestingly narrate the refusal by the Rāṇās of Chittaur of a matrimonial offer of a Hāḍā princess, clearly indicating political rivalry (besides lower social status of the Hāḍās) between the Guhilas and the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar.[73] The Hāḍās claim to have defeated Rāṇā Mokal in the skirmish that followed the Guhila refusal to accept a Hāḍā princess as a Guhila bride. A popular song commemorates the event as follows

> "*Hāmu Mokal māriyo,*
> *Lāle Khetā jān,*
> *Suje Ratan Saṁghāriyo,*
> *Ajmal Arasī rān.*[74]

The song says that the bridegroom, at the spring-hunt of Arasī (Aheriā), met Mokal, and both fought to death, Rāo Sujā killed Ratan too.

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70. Ibid., p.1691.

71. Ibid., p.1681.

72. Ibid., pp.1681-82.

73. Ibid., pp.1806-1808.

74. Ibid., p.1808.

Besides traditions, discovery of the inscriptional records at Menal containing the genealogy and the *praśasti* of the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar point to Hāḍā predominance in the locality. The most important of the Hāḍā inscriptions from Menal is dated A.D. 1390. It begins with a *praśasti* of the Cāhamānas, the ancestors of the Hāḍās and their presiding deity, Āśāpuraṇadevī before detailing the genealogy of the Hāḍās of Bumaoda, originating from prince Harrāj.[75] It also significantly designates Harrāj's successors as 'lords

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75. Ibid., pp.1802-04. The text of transcription briefly runs as follows, edited by Tod, 'By Āśāpuraṇa (the fulfiller of our desires) the Kuladevī (tutelary goddess) of the race, by whose favour hidden treasures are revealed, and through whose power, many Chohan Kings have ruled the earth, of which race was Bhanwardhan, who in the field of strife attained the desires of victory. Of his race was the tribe of Hārā, of which was Koolun, of illustrious and pure descent in both races; whose fame was fair as the rays of the moon. From him was Jypāl, who obtained the fruits of the good works.... From him was Deva-rāj, the lord of the land,.... His son was Hur-rāj, whose frame was piece of fire; who, in the field of battle, conquered renown from the princes of the land [bhom-eswar], and dragged the spoils of victory from their pinnacled abodes. From him were the lords of Bumaoda, whose land yielded to them its fruits. From Deva-raj was Rit-pal, who made the rebellious bow the head,.... From him was Kelhan, the chief of his tribe, whose son Koontul resembled Dhermaraj: ...a son was born to Koontul, fair as the offspring of the ocean. He was named Mahadeva. He was [in wisdom] fathomless as the sea, and in battle immovable.... The sword grasped in his extended arm dazzled the eye of his enemy, as when uplifted over the head of Uni Shah he rescued the Lord of Medpat, and dragged Kaitah from his grasp, as is Chandra from Rahoo. He trod the Sooltan's army under foot, as does the ox the corn; even as did the Danoos (demons) churn the ocean, so did Mahadeva, the field of strife seizing the gem (rutna) of victory from the son of the King and bestowing it on Kaitah, the lord of men. From the centre even to the skirts of space, did the fame of his actions extend, pure as curdled milk. He had a son, Doorjun, on whom he bestowed the title of Jiva-raj (Jeoraj), who had two brothers, Soobutsal and Kumbhakama.'

of Bumaoda'.[76] The political links between the Hāḍās of Menal (eastern Mewar) and the Guhilas can be seen in the Hāḍā claim that Hāḍā Mahādeva rescued the 'lord of Medapāṭa' (dragged Kaitāh) from the grasp of Sultan Uni Shah.[77]

The Ekaliṅgajī Temple Dakṣina Dvāra *Praśasti* of Rāṇā Rāimalla of A.D. 1489 narrates the military victory of Rāṇā Khetā (grandfather of Rāṇā Mokal) over the Hāḍās. 'Khetasiṁha, who was honest and intelligent, reduced the King of the East who took fines, and whose administration and taxation was very severe. He destroyed active and calm heroes who were between (him and the King of the East) and subdued the land after severe fightings in which the heads of the clan of the Hàda-Kshatris were cut off and their trunks wandered about'.[78] Here is a contemporary record of the Guhilas of Mewar which directly refers to the Hāḍās as the Kings of East and the subsequent victory over them. In fact, references to the maladministration and unpopular taxation system of the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar appear as justifications of the Guhila military victory over the Hāḍās and their subsequent political integration into the state of Mewar. The fact is evident from the Guhila reference to the Eastern Mewar as *Hāḍā-maṅdala*.[79] The conquest of *Hāḍāvatī* by Mahārāṇā Kumbha (described in the Kumbhalgarh praśasti) which evidently included the state of Bundi would also indicate the forts held by the Hāḍās in Uparmal.[80] Apparently, Mahārāṇā Kumbha had to reassert the authority of Mewar in

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76. Ibid., p.1804.

77. Ibid. Kaitāh has been identified with Rāṇā Kṣetrasiṁha (Khetā).

78. Peterson (ed.), Ekalingaji Temple Dakṣinadvāra Inscription, 'A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscription', English translation is only available in this collection, op. cit., p.119, v.31, '*Hādāmaṅdala muṅdakhandanadhṛita sphūrjatkabandhoddhuram Kṛitvā Sangarāmātmasādvasumatīm Śrī Kṣetra Siṁhavyādhat.*'

79. Ibid.

80. Kumbhalgarh 4th Slab, op. cit., vv.259, 263-64.

the land of the Hāḍās during his conquest of Vrindāvantī (Bundi). However, the political sovereignty of the Guhilas over the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar is directly evident in an early fifteenth century Guhila record from Singoli, eastern Mewar. The text of the Guhila inscription runs as follows: 'Samvat 1477 (A.D. 1421), the 2nd of Asoj, being Friday (Bhriguwar), Maharaja Sri Mokalji, in order to furnish lights (Jyotiswaste) for Vijayaseni Bhavaniji (643), has granted one *bigha* and a half of land. Whosoever shall get aside this offering the goddess will overtake him'.[81] Thus both the contemporary evidences and annals testify to the political incorporation of the Hāḍās of Uparmal into the state of Mewar by the early fifteenth century.

Political incorporation of the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar is likely to have necessitated Guhila social links with the Hāḍās. In contrast to records of the tenth century, Guhila inscriptions of the fifteenth century (with the exceptions of Baghela and Gauḍa queens) do not mention the lineage of their queens. Possible clues are provided by the bardic traditions. Bardic traditions such as *Sūryavaṁśāvalī, Śrī Rāṇājīrī bāt, Rājāvalī Bahī* and *Badvā Devīdān Khyāt* refer to three Hāḍā queens of the Guhila Kings of the period, two for Rāṇā Khetā and one for Rāṇā Kumbha[82] (Rāo Bāgjī's daughter).[83] Possibly, Rāṇā Khetā's Hāḍā queens came from the Hāḍā families of eastern Mewar, for social links with the Hāḍās were politically far more important for the Guhilas to control the strategic fortresses, east and north-east of Chittaurgarh.

The Solaṅkīs (Bālnotes) of Maṇḍalgarh

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Annals of Mewar amply make it clear that Maṇḍalgarh, a fertile tract with mining potential, had been predominated

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81. Ibid., pp.1680-1681. The inscription is edited and translated by Col. Tod.

82. Devilal Paliwal (ed.), Baḍvā Devīdān Khyāt, Udaipur, 1985, pp.2&5.

83. Ibid., p.5.

by the Bālnotes, a branch of the Caulukyas or Solaṅkīs, in the fifteenth century.[84] The local legends attribute the building of Maṇḍalgarh to the Bālnotes tracing ancestry to the Caulukyas of Anhilwara. Their association with Maṇḍalgarh is so long that this tract is also popularly known as Bālnote.[85]

Their association with Maṇḍalgaṙh is also suggested by the fact that many other important social groups of Mewar and adjacent regions particularly some of the Jain mercantile families trace their descent from the Balnotes or Solaṅkīs of Maṇḍalgarh.[86] However, more importantly, two inscriptions (unpublished) containing the genealogy of the local Solaṅkīs tracing ancestry from the Anhilwara Caulukyas have been discovered at Kachaura, Maṇḍalgarh.'[87] These inscriptional records certainly substantiate Solaṅkī claim over the Maṇḍalgarh tract.

Actual political integration of the Solaṅkīs (Bālnotes)

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84. Tod, Annals, Vol.III, op. cit., pp.1722-23.

85. Ibid.
The Bālnote of Maṇḍalgarh was a branch of the Solaṅkīs who migrated to Southern Rajasthan from Tonk (central Rajasthan). Regarding their settlement in Maṇḍalgarh tract Tod narrates the following traditions. '*The first possession the founder* had, was Larpoora, a town of great antiquity. He had in his service a Bhil, named Mandoo, who, while guarding the sugarcane from the wild hog, came upon one sound asleep. To ensure his arrow piercing the animal, he began to sharpen it upon a stone, and, to his astonishment, found it transmuted to gold. He repaired to his master, who returned with Mandoo, and found the stone, with the hog still asleep beside it; but no sooner had he seized upon his prize, than *Baraha* disappeared. With the possession of the *Paris-putter*, the "philosopher's stone", he raised the walls of Mandelgurh, which was named after the fortunate Bhil. By an act of injustice to one of his subjects, he forefeited Mandelgurh to a descendant.'

86. Ibid., p.1724.

87. Ibid., p.1723. Unfortunately these two inscriptions discovered and read by Tod are reported to be mutiliated and therefore have not been published.

of Maṇḍalgarh seems to have materialized only in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign (latter half of fifteenth century), for Kumbhalgarh *Praśasti* refers to Kumbha's conquest of Maṇḍalgarh twice[88] and the Ranakpur[89] *Praśasti* mentions it in the list of Kumbha's conquests. However, the Solaṅkīs of Maṇḍalgarh seem to have been confined to a small tract, for the Guhila inscriptions never mention the Solaṅkīs or the Bālnotes in the context of Maṇḍalgarh, unlike the mention of the Hāḍās. Maṇḍalgarh was perhaps better controlled by the Guhilas than the Hāḍā forts. Although it is difficult to prove the social linkages of the Guhilas with the Solaṅkīs of Maṇḍalgarh, it is significant that *Badvā Devīdān Khyāt* lists two Solaṅkī queens of the Guhila kings of the fifteenth century, one each for Mokal and Rāimalla.[90] Given the strategic importance of Maṇḍalgarh, the Guhilas might have made matrimonial alliances with the Solaṅkīs of Maṇḍalgarh in the fifteenth century.

__The Paramāras of Bhainsrorgarh__

Being strategically situated on the banks of the Chambal (defended by a cliff with a sharp descent to the river) and trade route to Central India,[91] the fortress of Bhainsrorgarh could act both as a second line of defence and a line of supplies and provisions to Mewar. The trading importance of Bhainsrorgarh is evident from the local popular tales that associate the town with the itinerant traders or banjārās.[92]

A thirteenth century inscription discovered by Tod at

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88. 4th slab, __op__. __cit__., vv.263-64.

89. __op__. __cit__., 1.15.

90. __op__. __cit__., pp.4 & 6. Solaṅkī Rāo Sātaljī's grand daughters appear as Guhila queens for Mokal and Rāimalla. Considering the long gap between Mokal's (early fifteenth century) and Rāimalla's (late fifteenth century) reigns, historiocity of the actual queens are doubtful.

91. Tod, vol.III, __op__. __cit__., pp.1687-88.

92. __Ibid__., p.1691.

Bhainsrorgarh points towards Paramāra occupation of the locality, for the land charter is executed in the Paramāra style of Malwa (*Śāsan* Udayāditya).[93]

The predominance of the Paramāras in the Bhainsrorgarh locality in the fourteenth century can be further attested by private and royal inscriptions in neighbouring Sontrā or Sutrawāndurga. A private record of A.D. 1390 records that in the castle of Sontrā (Sutrawāndurga) the Paramār Ooda, Kula, Bhoona, for their cattle, wives, brāhmaṇas, along with the putra Choḍa, sold their existence (indicating slavery?).[94] A royal record of A.D. 1314 registers some construction work by a scion of the ruling Paramāras of Sutrawāndurga tracing his ancestry from Dhār, Malwa.[95] But significantly, the Paramāra records from Bhainsrorgarh do not appear beyond late fourteenth century (A.D. 1390).[96] It is also important to note that unlike Mandalgarh, the for-

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93. Ibid., p.1699. 'On the Purnima (full moon) of Seoratri (the birth day of Siva), Maha Rae'an Derae Sing Deo bestowed, in the name of Rameswar, village of Tuttagarh in poon (religious gift). These who maintain the grant, will enjoy the fruits resulting therefrom', ...'Samvat 1302 (A.D. 1246)'. This record justifies the popular legend of "Universal Paramār" for the locality of Bhainsrorgarh.

94. Ibid. The inscription is edited and translated by Col. Tod.

95. Ibid.
'Samvat 1370 (A.D. 1314), the 16th of Asar (Sudi ekum), he, whose renown is unequalled, the King, the lord of men, Maharaja Adheraj, Sri Alla-o-din, with his army of three thousand elephants, ten lakhs of horse, war-chariots and foot without number, conquering from Sambhur in the north, Malwa, Kurnat, Kanor'h, Jhalore, Jessulmer, Deogir, Tylung, even to the shorer of the Ocean, and Chandrapoori in the east, Victorious over all the Kings of the earth, and by whom Sutrawan Doorg, with its twelve townships, have been wrested fro the Pramar Maunsi, by whose son, Beelaji, whose birth-place (oot-pat) is Sri Dhar, this fountain was excavated. Written and also engraved by Sydeva, the stone-cutter (sootrad'har).'

96. Ibid.

tress of Bhainsrorgarh does not even find mention in the fifteenth century Guhila records. Being situated in proximity to Chittaurgarh, Guhila silence over its conquest perhaps suggests its effective incorporation and hence, integration of the Paramāra chiefs of Bhainsrorgarh into the political structure by the early fifteenth century. As far as Guhila matrimonial alliances with the Paramāras are concerned, there is once again no contemporary reference in the official records. But it is significant that bardic traditions refer to only one such alliance. *Sūryavaṁśāvalī Rājāvalī Bahī* and *Badvā devīdān* mention a Sānkhlī (a branch of the Paramāras) queen for Mahārāṇā Mokal.[97]

Rāṭhaurs in Mewar

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the political structure of Mewar in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries is the growing strength of the Rāṭhaurs in the Guhila court. Sources for the study of the early period of their rise in continue to be medieval texts and bardic traditions, such as Nainsī's Khyāt, Jodhpur Rājya Kī Khyāt, Tod's Annals, etc.[98] Rāo Sīha was the founder of the ruling house of the Rāṭhaurs of Marwar.

Traditions narrate that one of the early Rāṭhaurs of Marwar, Rāo Raṇamal, brought the Rāṭhaurs into Mewar. Accounts seem to indicate kinship pressures that forced Rāo Raṇamal to settle outside his paternal state in the early fifteenth century.[99]

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97. op. cit., p.4.

98. Badri Prasad Sakaria (ed.), Muhatā Nainsī Rī Khyāt, Jodhpur, 1984, Vol.II, pp.42-58; G.H. Ojha, History of the Jodhpur State, op. cit., pp.147-148; Tod, Annals, vol.II, op. cit., pp.939-42.

99. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors, Jodhpur, 1943, pp.13-14. Rāo Raṇamal, the eldest son of Rāo Chūṇḍā, is known to have waived his right to the throne in favour of his brother Rāo Kanha to carry out the wish of his father. He left Marwar in A.D. 1408 for Mewar.

Rāṇā Lākhā is known to have welcomed him and granted him an estate. Rāo Raṇamal is stated to have reciprocated by leading Rāṇā's army and bringing Ajmer under Mewar.[100] Secondly, the Rāṭhaurs could function as an effective check against the locally entrenched non-Guhila Rajput families such as the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar. These politico-military factors seem to have directly helped the Rāṭhaurs in gaining quick control and an increasing status in the royal court of Mewar in the early fifteenth century. The Rāṭhaur-Guhila alliance is likely to have been politically significant, for the bardic traditions narrate at length the matrimonial alliance sought by the Rāṭhaurs with the Guhilas in the early fifteenth century.[101] Rāṇā Lākhā is known to have married a Rāṭhaur princess Hansābāī, Raṇamal's sister. The marriage took place on the contract that a son by a Rāṭhaur princess was to succeed to the throne of Mewar superceeding the elder prince. Thus, Guhila-Rāṭhaur marriage led to the famous abdication of the throne of Mewar by its heir, prince Chūṇḍā (Rāṇā Lākhā's eldest son) and influx of many more Rāṭhaurs into Mewar.[102]. The Annals highlight the importance of the Rāṭhaurs for the early fifteenth century rulers of Mewar in consolidation of royal power by pitting the old Rajput elements including royal kinsmen against the Rāṭhaurs.

At the same time it was equally essential for the Rāṭhaurs in the early stage of their rise to establish close links with the Guhilas of Mewar. The fact that traditions of Mewar also do not list the Rāṭhaur queens till Rāṇā Rāimalla's period except for Lākhā,[103] in itself speaks for the rise of the Rāṭhaurs only in the fifteenth century. It is well-known that Rāo Jodhā (Rāo Raṇamala's son and successor) could found the Rāṭhaur capital Jodhpur only in A.D.

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100. Ibid.

101. Tod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.223.

102. Ibid., p.224. Also see, Neelam Kaushik, op. cit., p.4.

103. Badvā Devīdān Khyāt, op. cit., pp.3&6.

1459.[104] Rāṭhaurs were more in Mewar before A.D. 1459. After their expulsion from Mewar in A.D. 1444 they were acquiring land in the Marwar region. For instance, Jodhā obtained Sojat in A.D. 1455.[105] No Rāṭhaur queen is listed for Mahārāṇā Kumbha. But Badvādevīdan Khyāt lists six Rāṭhaur queens each for Mahārāṇā Rāimalla and Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā.[106] However, historically known three sons of Rāimalla, Pṛithvīrāj, Jayamal and Sāṅgā are traditionally asigned to his Jhālī queen Rājdhar Ratankanwar.[107] Although the historiocity of the names of the Rāṭhaur chiefs, their daughters and their contemporaneity with the Guhila Kings of Mewar are questionable, the list helps in contrasting the number of the Rāṭhaur queens of the Guhila Kings of the period with the rest of the Rajput queens.

Dudā, the founder of the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs established his seat in the locality of Mertā in Marwar region. His son Vīramdeva and grandson Jaimal are known to have united the region under the banner of the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs. Beginning at Mertā, they brought under their control Parbatsar, Nava, Marot, Jaitarana Kaulia, Daulatpura and held some estate in Nagaur as well.[108] Thus they made their presence felt in a larger part of Marwar. Geographically, they became buffers

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104. B.N. Reu, op. cit., p.17.

105. Ibid., pp.17-18.

106. Badvādevīdān Khyāt, op. cit., pp.6-9. The list of Rāṭhaur queens for Rāimalla in as follows: Rāṭhaur Bīsā's daughter Rājkunwar, Rāṭhaur Raṇasing's daughter Kamkukanwar, Rāṭhaur Jodhsiṁha's daughter Vikrakanwar, Rāṭhaur Rāo Dalapatsiṁha's daughter Sagatde, Rāṭhaur Rāo Māldeo's daughter Adrakanwar and Rāṭhaur Rāo Bajarājjī's daughter Adrakanwar. The Rāṭhaur queens for Sāṅgā are Jodhā's daughter Barājbāī, Rāo Bhārmal's daughter Bālkanwar; Banesing's daughter Pyārkanwar, Rāo Bāgh's daughter Dhanakanwar (Rāo Sujā's granddaughter), Rāo Sur's Karmetanbāī and Lādkanwarbāī.

107. Ibid., p.6.

108. Hukum Singh Bhati, Rājasthān Ke Mertiyā Rāṭhaur (A.D. 1458-1707), Jodhpur, 1986, p.10.

between Mewar and Marwar and it became necessary for the Guhilas to establish political and social links with the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs. On their part the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs who were in the process of expansion looked towards bigger powers for political and military alliances. A number of Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs are known to have been incorporated into the political structure of Mewar through service-grants. As a result we have the following estates of the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs in the fifteenth-sixteenth century Mewar.

(1) Badnor: Mahārāṇā Udaisimha II had granted Badnor to Rāo Jaimal. It continued to be in possession of his son Mukundās and his successors.[109]

(2) Chanod: Mahārāṇā Rāimalla granted Chanod to his grandson (by daughter) Pratāpsiṁha.[110]

(3) Ghanerao: This locality was granted to Ṭhākur Pratāpsiṁha's (Chanod) son Gopāldās by Mahārāṇā Udaisiṁha (II). It has remained in the possession of his successors.[111]

The estate of Chanod belongs to our period of discussion (the late fifteenth century) as Mahārāṇā Rāimalla granted this locality to the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs in Mewar. More Mertiyā Rāṭhaur personalities figure in the political structure of Mewar in the sixteenth century. Sundardās, son of Mertiyā kishansiṁha (Jaimalot), was granted the estate of Dasalānā.[112] Kishansiṁha died at the battle of Haldīghātī.[113] Manohardās, grandson of Jaimal and son of

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109. Thakur Gopalsimha Mertiya (ed.) Jaimal Vaṁśa Prakāsh, Ajmer, 1932, pp.119, 126, 165.

110. Ibid., p.109; Pt. Narottamdas Swami (ed.), Bāṅkīdās Rī Khyāt, Rājāsthān Prāchya Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur, 1956, p.63.

111. Bāṅkīdās Rī Khyāt, Ibid.; Murārīdān Rī Khyāt (Hindi tr.), R.P.V.P. Granthanka (Serial No.) 15657, p.549.

112. Murārīdān Rī Khyāt, Ibid., p.488.

113. Ibid.

Viṭṭaldās, was in the service of Mahārāṇā Pratāp.[114]

The Guhila social links with the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs further strengthened the political advantages that the former derived from a buffer Rajput power. In A.D. 1496, a daughter of Mahārāṇā Rāimalla was married to crown prince of Mertā, Vīramdev, son of Rāo Dudā.[115] Mīrābāī, grand daughter of Rāo Dudā and daughter of Ratnasiṁha was married to Bhojarāj, son of Rāṇā Sangrāmsiṁha (sāṅgā).[116] Thus by the early sixteenth century the Guhilas had established reciprocal marital exchange (Bevrā)[117] with the Mertiyā Rāṭhaurs.

Finally, the fort of Jājpur (modern Jahazpur) might have been the stronghold of the Kherāḍas inthe fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Although none of their records contemporary to our period has been discovered, Amarakāvyam refers to conquest of Kherāḍkula of Jāpur by Rāṇā Khetā.[118] It is significant that Rāṇā Kumbha Claims the conquest of Yāgpur (Jāpur) indicating that it was a non-Guhila fortress.[119]

THE JAINS AND THE ROYAL FAMILY IN MEWAR

Since the majority of the western Indian merchants were Jains, the study of political links between the Jains and the Guhila dynasty between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries is essentially a story of the induction of Jain

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114. Ibid., p.490.

115. Jaimal Vaṁśa, op. cit., p.68.

116. Ibid., pp.71-72.

117. Henri Stern, 'Power in Traditional India: Territory, Caste and Kinship in Rajasthan' in Richard D. Fox (ed.), Realm and Region in Traditional India, New Delhi, 1977, pp.73-74.

118. op. cit., canto., VIII, p.14.

119. op. cit., v.253.

merchants into the political structure of Mewar.[120] The state depended upon this wealthy community for two obvious reasons. First, the Jain merchants were responsible for generating more and more local resources. Secondly, the Jain merchants were most capable of raising resources for the Guhila wars of this period. Jains were equally interested in seeking state support to carry on with their business.[121]

The state too, created conditions for generating further commercial activities.[122] There is a vast corpus of inscriptional and literary sources which throw light on the elite Jain families of Mewar and the extent of their resources. A brief survey of these families and the circuit of the pilgrimage centres becomes necessary to understand the background to the political linkages between the Jains and the Guhilas.

Chittaurgarh was the most popular Jain pilgrimage centre in Mewar. *Ācārya* Haribhadra Sūri, the great reformer, operated from Chittaurgarh in the eighth century.[123] His literary works indicate the scale of patronage enjoyed by Haribhadra Sūri.[124] The continuing presence of Jain *ācāryas* in Chittaurgarh is evident from records that indi-

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120. V.K. Jain, op. cit., pp.240-241. The story of a merchant, Caulukya King Siddharāja and Sahaśraliṅga lake narrated by Merutuṅga is an indication of the concern of the royal families to grow relations with the merchants in early medieval Western India.

121. Ibid., p.224. Jineśvara Sūri (eleventh century) is known to have advised the Jain merchants that a King could be of great service or disservice to the merchants. A merchant should solicit his help by eulogizing him and paying personal homage at the court.

122. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Markets and Merchants, op. cit., p.114. One of the factors responsible for the situation of partial monetization in this period was more varieties of demands, including preparations for the endemic wars of the period.

123. D. Sharma, RTA, op. cit., p.416.

124. Ibid., p.417.

cate increasing patronage by the Jain laity as well as influence of the *acaryas*. For instance, a Digambar Jain inscription of the reign of Guhila Jaitrasiṁha from Chittaur contains a *praśasti* of *ācārya* Subhacandra, who was venerated by the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas and the Gurjara rulers.[125] *Citrakūṭa* became an important reference point for the Jains and a pilgrimage-cum-institutional centre.[126] The *Kharatara-ragacchca Paṭṭāvalī* vividly describes the *ācāryas* and training of their disciples at *Citrakūṭa*.[127] The same text records lavish grants made by Śreṣṭhī Dhandhal on the installation of the icons of the Jinas at Chittaurgarh on the occasion of the visit of Jinaprabodh Sūri of Kharatara-gacchca in A.D. 1277.[128] Jain merchants śreṣṭhī Ralhā and śreṣṭhī Lakṣmīdhar, are known to have arranged many religious festivities here in A.D. 1231.[129] Many other Jain religious manuscripts such as *Daśavaitālika Pākṣika Sutra Pustikā* by Śrāvikā Dhānde in A.D. 1295,[130] *Candraduta Abhidhāna, Nighantuśeṣa, Karma Vipāka* etc.[131] point to the presence and the extent of Jain patronage at Chittaurgarh. *Kharataragaccha Bṛihadgurvāvalī* refers to the presence of Jina Vallabha and his Vasahī at *Citrakūṭa*.[132] This text

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125. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions from Rajasthan, 1982, Jaipur, p.23. Also see ARIE, 1962-63, No.B-836.

126. Jina Vijaya Muni (ed.), Vividhatīrthakalpa, Ch. "Arbudādrīkalpa", Shantiniketan, 1934, pp.15-16. Citrakūṭa figures prominently in the list of tīrthas in the Abu and surrounding region.

127. Cited in Ram Valllabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.191.

128. Ibid., p.122.

129. Ibid., p.121.

130. Jina Vijaya Suri (ed.), Jain Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, Bombay, 1943, p.37.

131. Cited in Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscription, op. cit., pp.120-21.

132. Jina Vijayamuni (ed.), Kharataragaccha Bṛihadgurvāvalī, Bombay, 1956, p.12.

also significantly refers to the royal grants made from *Citrakūṭamaṇḍapikā*.[133] Next to Chittaurgarh, Devakula Pataka (Delwara, eighteen miles from Udaipur) seems to have been an important Jain *tīrtha* yielding several inscriptions dated between A.D. 1403 and A.D. 1453. These inscriptions mostly record the installation of icons of the Jinas by the śrāvakas and śrāvikāyas, mostly of Prāgvāṭa lineage, at Pārśvanātha temple.[134] Many Jain śreṣṭhīs including Rāmadeva Navalakhā resided at Devakulapataka.[135] Jain śreṣṭhīs patronized the Jain temples through the lavish grant of commercial levies from the local maṇḍapikās. It is interesting to note that Nāgdā, the famous *Pāśupata* centre of Mewar, was a centre of Jain pilgrimage too. Temple of the Digambara sect,[136] Aloka Pārśvanath,[137] icons installed at the temple of Aloka Pārśvanath by the svetāmbaras of Kharataragacchha in the fifteenth century[138] and *Tapagaccha Paṭṭāvalī's* references to Pārśvanāth temple[139] all indicate patronage of Nāgdā by the Jains. Significantly, the Ekaliṅ-

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133. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscription, op. cit., p.124.

134. P.C. Nahar, Jain Abhilekha, Calcutta, 1927, Vol.II, pp.245-247, 252-253.
(i) *Saṁ 1494 varṣeprāgvāt sā. Depāl putra Suhādsī bhāryā Suhāda de putrasā. Karana bhāryā cānu putra se Dhanadhā Hemājinapattikā Kāritā pratiṣṭhi Śrī tapagacchanāyak Śrī Somasundara sūribhih.*
(ii) *Saṁ 1506 verṣe sā· Soma bhā.rudi suta sā· Samadhārena bhrātṛi phāpha sīdharakuṭumbayutena tīrtha śrī śatruñjayagirīnaravatār paṭṭikākāritā śrī Ratnasekha· Sūribhih.*
(iii) *Saṁvat 1493 Varṣeprasād gauṣṭhikā prāgvāt jñātīya.*

135. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., pp.125-126. Also see, MK, pp.333-370-72; P.C. Nahar, Vol.II, op. cit., pp.255-56.

136. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., pp.126-127.

137. EI, Vol.XXVI, pp.102-12.

138. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.127.

139. PRAS, WC, 1905, p.38.

gajī temple inscription of A.D. 971 mentions a joint session of the Pāśupata and Jain ācaryas at Nāgahrda in which Pāśupatas are claimed to have defeated the Jains in discourse.[140] The temples of Adbhutnāth and Pārśvanāth (built in A.D. 1373) continued to be an important Jain *tīrthas* throughout the fifteenth century.[141] Āhaḍa and Udaipur (built in the mid-sixteenth century by Rāṇā Udaisiṁha II) also figured in the network of Jain tīrthas, testified by nearly one hundred and five inscriptions recording installations of icons of Jinas mostly by the merchant families of Prāgvāṭa, Śrīmāla, Upakeśa and Ukeśa (osval) lineages at the temples of Śītalanāth, Vāsupūjya and Gaurī Pārśvanāth.[142]

The Jain Pustaka *praśastis* records composition of some of the famous manuscripts such as *Śrāvakapratikramaṇasutra-cūrṇī*, patronized by *mahāmātya* Samuddhara (chief minister at the court of Guhila King Tejasiṁha),[143] *Daśavaikālādi Sutra-patrikā*, by Jagatsiṁha (chief minister at the court of

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140. op. cit., vv.15-20.

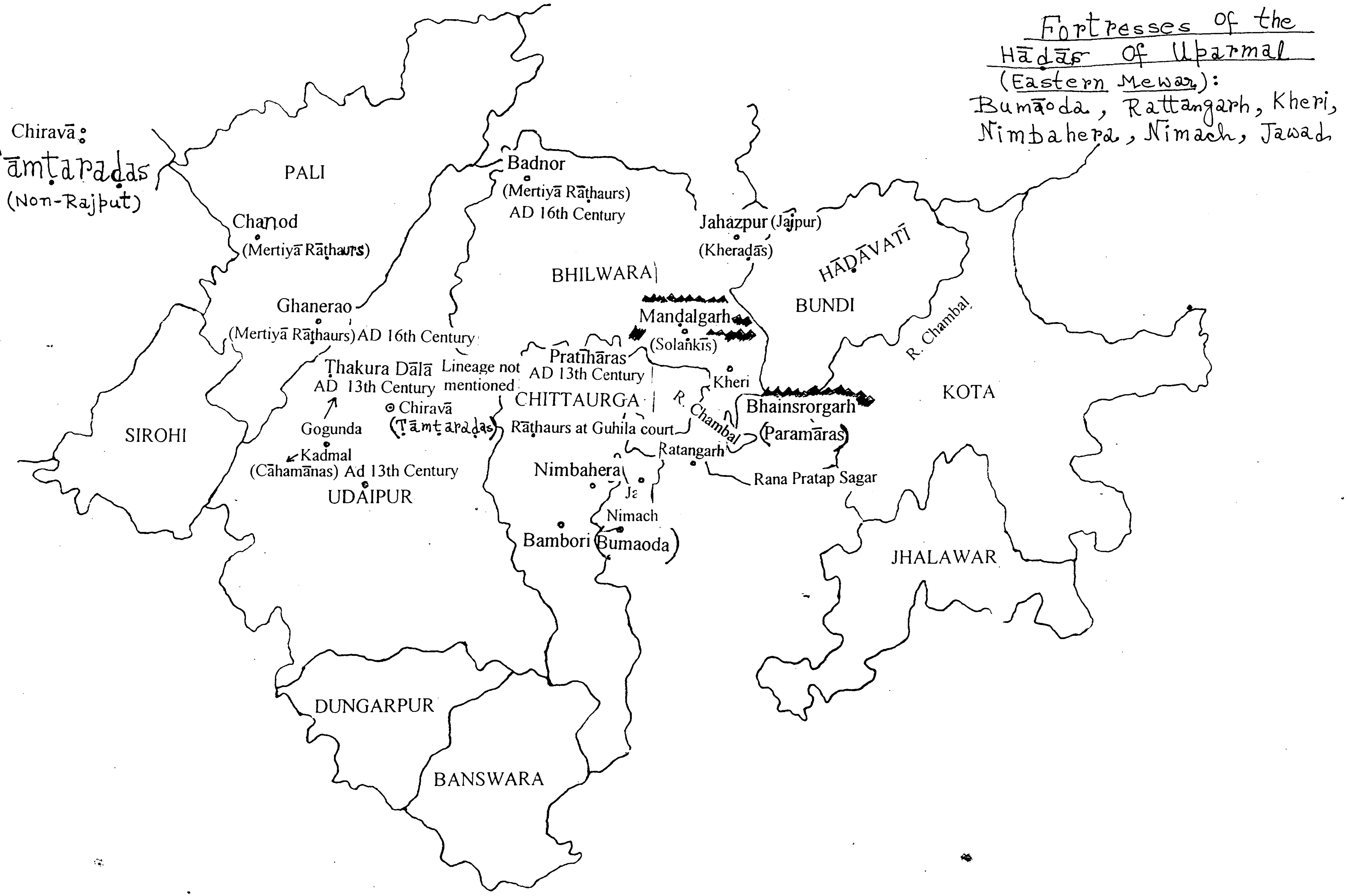
141. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., pp.127-29.

142. P.C. Nahar, Vol.II, op. cit., pp.9-19, for instance see Nos.1033-1101; Ibid., p.11, No.1047, `*Saṁvat 1399 Prāgvāṭ vaṁśe Ābada bhāryā bimbaṁ... bhāvdev Sūri*'; Ibid., p.13, No.1063, `*Saṁ 1472 Varṣe Śrīmāl Saṁghe śrī Padmanandī gurū Hūnvād jñātīyavya Śrī Ādināth bimbaṁ*'; Ibid., p.16. No.1082, `*Saṁvat 1506 Śrī nupakeśajñātau sā. sāhadeva bhā. suhavāde pu. śāligena pitrau kuṁthu-nāth bimbaṁ prati. śrī Sarva sūribhih*'; Ibid., p.19, No.1101, `*Sam 1559 varṣe āṣāḍa nusvāl jñāte kanoj gotre sā. seda pu. Sahasmal bhā. Suhilālde pu. ṭhākursī ṭhākur yutena Śītalnāth bimbaṁ kāritam pra. śrī Devagupta Suribhih*; Jain Pustaka Praśasti, op. cit., pp.116 and 219, `*Saṁvat 1317 varṣe Śrī madāghatdurge mahārājādhi-rāj parameśvaraparam bhaṭṭaraka umāpati varalabdhapra-tāp a samankrita Śrī Tejasiṁha-devakalyāṇa vijayarājye tatpadopadmopajīvinī mahāmātya śrī Samuddhare mudrā vyāpāraṇ paripanthayati śrīmaḍghatvāstyavya pāṇi Rām-candraśiṣyena Kamalcandrena pustikā vyālekhi 11*'.

143. Jain Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, Ibid., p.126.

Inscriptional Location of the
Pilgrimage Centres of the Jains in Mewar
AD 13th -15th Centuries

Non Guhila Rajput Chiefs in Guhila State : AD 13th - 15th Centuries



Guhila King Jaitrasimha)[144] at *Āhaḍamahādurga*. The Composition of these manuscripts was patronized by the grant of cash.[145] Other contemporary *tīrthas* of the Jains, Dhuleva, Zawar, Bhatevar, Ranakpur and Kumbhalgarh were located within the Mewar hills indicating the circulation of wealthy merchants in the very core-area of the Guhila state. A text, Vagod Pravāsa composed in the fourteenth century refers to Dhuleva as a Jain *tīrtha*,[146] patronage of the temple of śāntinātha by Nānā of Prāgvāṭa lineage[147] and construction of a new *devakulika*,[148] and patronage of the acaryas,[149] etc. at zawar (the famous mining centre), enlargement and building of the shrines at Ranakpur temple complex, by the wealthy merchant Dhārana Shāh,[150] the succession ceremonies of the *ācāryas* at Kumbhalgarh,[151] the beginning of Bhartṛipurīya gacchca at Bhatevar[152] and composition of manuscripts *Saptamāṅgacūrṇī* at village Bara-

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144. Ibid., p.116.

145. Ibid., pp.116 and 126. The original expression is *`mudrāvyāparan paripanthayati'*.

146. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.129; P.C. Nahar, Vol.I, op. cit., No.636. Inscriptions at Rikhabhadeva's temple record visits of the pilgrims from fourteenth century onwards.

147. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.401-02; Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.131; ARIE, 1956-57, No.529.

148. Ram Vallabh Somani, Ibid., p.131.

149. Ibid.

150. Ranakpur Praśasti, op. cit., ll.20-24.

151. P.C. Nagar (ed.), Jina Vijayaji's Kharataragacchca Paṭṭāvalī, Calcutta, 1956, p.56, *`Kumbhalmerū Vāstavya Kakaḍ copoḍagotrīya Sāh Samarasimha Kritanandīmahotsavena Śrīkīrttiratnācāryena padasthāpana kritā tato Arbudacalopari navaphanpārsvanāth pratiṣthā Vidhyākah ll'*

152. Kailash Chand Jain, Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963, p.66.

grāma[153] and that of *Kalpasutra Kālikācāryakathā* at the village of Bauna,[154] etc., amply prove the socio-economic importance of the Jains in Mewar between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

The earliest direct evidence of Guhila patronage of Jain establishments in Mewar appears in the late thirteenth century. Guhila queen Jayatalladevī, wife of Tejasiṁha and mother of Mahārāval Samarasiṁha was a staunch Jain. The Guhila queen, at the instance of *ācarya* Śrī Praddyumna Sūri of Bhartṛipurīyagacchha, got a temple of Śyām Pārśvanāth constructed in Chittaur in A.D. 1278.[155] Such patronage proves the importance of the Jains for the Guhila state once it acquired the most prominent centre of the Jains in Mewar, Chittaur. It is obvious that the Guhila queen patronized a local *gacchha*, Bhartṛipurīya. Being a local religious establishment Bhartṛipurīya gacchha seems to have been one of the most influential Jain institutes in thirteenth century Mewar. The inscription also refers to the grants of land and *dramma* coins from the *maṇḍapikās* of Citrakūṭa-talahaṭṭī, Āhaḍa, Khohar and Sajjanapura, and those of oil and ghee, etc. by the reigning King Mahārājakula Samarasiṁha.[156] This inscription, interestingly, was not composed by any Jain *acarya* but by the brāhmaṇas, usually employed by

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153. Jain, Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, op. cit., p.125, No.205, '*Dhānyaśālibhadracaritrādi pustikā Saptamāṅg-cūrṇīh 1 granthāṅgra 101 Medapāṭe Varagrāma vāstavya śrāvak putra Samudhdhara śrāvakbhāryāyā kuladharaputrayā sāviti śrāvikayā dhānya-śālibhadra-kṛitapuṇya maharṣi caritādipustikā svasreyonimittam lekhitā*'.

154. Ibid., pp.38-39, ll.1, 17, '*Śrīmālvaṁsīya śrāvaganalekhitā Kalpasutra Kālikācāryakathā pustikā praśastih Śrī Medapāṭamandale Vaunā grāme pustikā likhitā 11*'

155. A Chittaur palace pillar praśasti , Vir Vinod, op. cit., p.397. '*Śrī Bhartṛipureyagacchhe śrī cudāmaṇi Bhartṛipure Śrī Guhilaputravihāra ādiśapratipattau śrīcitrakūṭa Medapāṭādhipati śrī Tejah Siṁharājye Śrījayatalladevya śrī Śyām-Pārśvanāth vasahī svaśreyase kāritā 11*'

156. Ibid.

the royal court.[157]

Because of their vast knowledge, the Jain *ācāryas* were employed by the non-Jain members of the local society to compose their records. The Chiravā inscription (A.D. 1273) was composed by *ācārya* Ratnaprabha Sūri of the Chaitragaccha.[158] The Ṭāmṭaraḍa family from Chiravā significantly mentions that Ratnaprabhasūri was revered by King Visaladeva (Vaghelas of Gujarat) and Tejahsiṁha, the Guhila King.[159]

The peak of Guhila patronage to the Jains was undoubtedly reached in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign. The Abu inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha of A.D. 1449 records the Guhila order of the abolition of the pilgrimage tax, customs, valvāhī (armed escort) and *chaukidārī* (security) and cattle taxes levied in Abu.[160] The Guhila order is politically very significant as most travellers to Abu were Jains, and also, Abu was contested between Gujarat and the Devaḍās of Sirohi.[161]

The process of Guhila patronage of the Jain *tīrthas* ran simultaneously with the process of incorporation of the Jains into the political structure. Firstly, the Jains start figuring as important officials in Mewar by the thirteenth century. The first Jain family formally inducted into the administrative structure was from Āhaḍa. Thus,

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157. Ibid.
'Om! Śrī Ekaliṅgaśivasevanatatpara Śrī Hārītarāśivaṁśa Sambhutamaheśvaraśitatsiṣya śrī śivarāśi Godojātīyadvijadivākara Vaṁśodbhava Vyāsaratnasutajjotih Śadalatthaca Vipraddhānasutabhaṭṭaśāda tatputradvārbhaṭṭa khīmaṭstadrabhārtṛi Bhīma sahitena ebhirmilitvā śrībhartṛipuriyagacchekārī ll'

158. op. cit., v.48.

159. Ibid.

160. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., pp. 175-76.
This inscription is engraved in the courtyard between the famous Jain temples of Vimal Shāh and Tejapāla at Mount Abu.

161. Ibid., pp.77-81, 98, 105-106.

Jagatsiṁha of Āhaḍa, who had patronized *Daśavaikālikādisutra-patrikā*, appears as *mahāmātya* (chief minister) of King Jaitrasiṁha.[162]

Two more Jains figure as offical favourites in the court of Jaitrasiṁha. The *Pākṣikasutravṛitti* mentions that the manuscript was patronized by mahan (mahantak: accountant) Śrī Talhana, Śrī Karana and others who had received the favours of King Jayasiṁha (other name for Jaitrasiṁha).[163] Influential Jains continued to occupy the post of chief minister in the Guhila court. The ministers of Tejasiṁha (Jaitrasiṁha's successor) Jalhan, Samuddhara and Kāṅga were all devout Jains. In particular, minister Samuddhara seems to have been a man of great wealth and status as he figures in a number of contemporary records. He figures in a copper plate inscription, the Ghagsa inscription of A.D. 1260,[164] and manuscript of the *śrāvaka Pratikramaṇ sutracūrṇī* of A.D. 1261.[165] Kāṅgā figures as *Pradhāna Rāja* in the administration of King Tejasiṁha.[166] It is important that he received

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162. Jaina Pustaka Praśasti, op. cit., p.116. In fact, Ram Vallabh Somani misses out on this important Jain personality in his work, Jain Inscriptions from Rajasthan, op. cit.

163. Ibid., p.125. '*Saṁvat 1309 Varṣe ... tatpaṭṭavibhuṣana rājāśrite Jayasiṁha Vijayarājye tatpādapadmopojīvinī mahan śrītalhanapratipattau śrī śrīkaranādi-samastavyāpāran pākṣikavṛitti likhiteti.*'

164. Somani, History of Mewar, op. cit., p.86, G.H. Ojha, URI, I, op. cit., pp.169-170. '*Saṁvat 1317 varṣe mahāsudi 4 ādityadine śrīmadāghaṭadurge mahārājādhirāja parameśvarabhaṭṭarakaumāpati varalabdhaprauḍa-pratāp Samalaṁkṛita Śrī Tejah Siṁha devakalyāṇa-Vijayarājye tatpādapadmopojīvinī mahāmātya śrī Samuddhare mudrā vyāpāran paripanthayati śrī madāghaṭ vāstavya pan. Rāmacandraśiṣyena Kamalacandreṇa pustikā vyālekhi 11*'

165. op. cit.

166. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.398, Chittaur inscription of A.D. 1267, *Mahārāja Śrī Tejahsiṁhadevakalyāṇa-vijayi rāja Vijayamānapradhānrāja rājaputra kāṅgā.*

the title of *Rājaputra*:[167] This indicates absorption of the influential Jains into the political structure with a status higher than the usual chiefs in the *sāmanta* hierarchy. Śreṣṭhī Dhāndhal and Śreṣṭhī Ratna seem to have been the two most important Jain merchants in the reign of Guhila King Samarasimha.[168] The families of Samuddhara, Kāṅgā, Śreṣṭhīs Dhandhal, Ratna, Rālha, etc.,[169] were likely to be influential in the Chittaurgarh belt. In the early fourteenth century, Śreṣṭhī Jījā and Punyāsiṁha of Bāgherwal lineage figure as important Jain families of Chittaur.[170]

From the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, the family of Navalakha Rāmadeva of Ukeśa *gotra* (Osvāl) from Devakulapataka seem to be politically the most important Jain family of Mewar. He functioned as the chief minister of Mewar in the reigns of Mahārāṇās Kṣetrasiṁha, Lakṣasiṁha and Mokal.[171] He had two sons, Sajjana and Sāraṅga. Sajjana succeeded his father to the post of chief ministership of Mewar during the reigns of Mahārāṇās Mokal and Kumbha. A Jain literary work, *Āvaśyakabṛihadvṛitti* composed in Devakulapataka, refers to the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha and his chief minister Sādhu Śrī Sajjanapāla.[172] The status of this family is evident from other contemporary

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167. Ibid.

168. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.122.

169. Ibid., p.224.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid., p.225.

172. Jain Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, op. cit., p.148. '*Samvat 1492 varṣe Śrī Medapāṭadeśe Śrī Devakulapātaka-puravare Śrī Kumbhakaraṇarājye Śrī Kharataragacche Śrī Jinacandrasūri paṭṭe Śrī Jinasāgarasūrirājanamupadeśena Śrīukeśavaṁśīya Navalakṣaśākhāmandana sā. Śrī Rāmadeva bhāryā Sādhvīni Melāde tatputra rājmantrī dhuradhaureya Sādhu Śrī Sajjanapālastena Sā•Ranamalla Sā•Ranadhīra sā• Ranavīra sā• Bhāndā sā•Sāndā sā•ranobhrama sā• Caundā sā• Karmasiṁha pramukha Sāraputraparivārparikā-litena nija punyartham Śrī Āvaśyakbṛihadvṛtti dvitīya-khaṇdam bhāndāgāre likhāpitam ll*'

sources such as *Vignapti-Lekhā* of A.D. 1374. It mentions the event of a great *Dikṣā Mahotsava* in Kareda in A.D. 1374, arranged by Rāmadeva.[173] *Soma-Saubhāgya Kāvya* refers to the visit of Soma Sundara Sūri at Devakulapataka who was received by Mahārāṇā Lākhā, prince Chūṇḍā and minister Rāmadeva.[174] *Vignapti-Lekhā* also mentions the installation of the icons of ācāryas Merūnandan and Droṇa by Rāmadeva's wife Melādevī at Devakulapataka.[175] The son-in-law of Rāmadeva, Vīśāl, came from the famous family of Śreṣṭhī Vatsarāj of Idar. *Soma Saubhagya Kāvya* is the source for an account of this family. It shows that a big temple named Manorathakālpadrum was built in Chittaur by this family.[176] Vīśāl's wife Khīmāi (Rāmadeva's daughter) and sons Dhīr and Champaka figure in the inscriptions (A.D. 1437) of the Jain temple at Machind.[177] Sajjana, the elder son of Rāmadeva got a Śatruñjaya Paṭṭa (stone-slab) and some icons installed in Devakulapataka in A.D. 1434.[178] An account of his younger brother Sāraṅga is found in an inscription (A.D. 1437) from Adbhutnāthjī temple of Nāgdā.[179]

The other important office that the Jains came to occupy in Mewar was that of *Bhāṇḍāgārika* (treasurer). Inscriptional references to the office begin in the fifteenth century. The Chittaur inscription of A.D. 1448 was issued by a family of Bhandaris serving Maharana Kumbha. This family designates itself as in-charge of the royal treasury (Bhāṇḍārī/Bhāṇḍāgārika). The record contains the genealogy of the family originating in Sāhakolā and regis-

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173. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.225.

174. Ibid., p.226.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid.

178. Devakulapataka temple Inscription cited in Ram Vallabh Somani, Ibid., p.227.

179. Ibid., p.227.

ters the construction of the temple of Śāntinātha by this family.[180] The Bhāṇḍārīs are listed as follows: Bhāṇḍārī Śrī Velaka, Bhāṇḍārī Mudharāja, Bhāṇḍārī Dhanarāja, Bhāṇḍārī Kurapāla etc.[181] They were followers of Kharataragacchcha.[182] Besides Śreṣṭhī Rāmadeva, Devakulapataka had a few more contemporary Jain Śreṣṭhīs as residents. Śreṣṭhīs Nimba, Kelha, Megh, Bhīm, Kaṭak, Lakṣmaṇ Siṁha, Hīsa, Dharma, etc. are the important names.[183] Hīsa and Dharma belonged to the famous Pichcholiyā family of Devakulapataka (founder, Devapāl).[184] Inscriptional records refer to their installation projects including patronage extended to Tapagacchcha.[185]

It is obvious that Kumbha's court reached out to these rich Jain families through Rāmadeva Navalakha. Śreṣṭhī Saṁghapati Dhārana Shāh of the Prāgvāṭa lineage from Ranakpur and Saṁghapati Śreṣṭhī Guṇarāja of Chittaur are the two other important Jain personalities in the royal court of the fifteenth century Mewar. Both of them figure in Ranakpur *Praśasti* of A.D. 1439. The *Praśasti* contains a genealogy of Saṁghapati Dhārana,[186] his father, Kurapāla's charitable deeds and more importantly the construction of temple of *Śrī Caturmukhayugādiśvara* at the instance of Rāṇā kumbha. Dhārana also dedicates the newly constructed temple of Śrī

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180. Srinagar Chanvari Inscription, Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.410.

181. Ibid. '*Samvat 1505 Varṣe Rāṇā Śrī Mokalanandana Rāṇā Śrīkumbhakarṇa Kośavyāpārina Śāhkolāputraratna bhandārī Śrī Velakena bhāryā Vīlhaṇadevī Jayamān bhāryāratnadeputra bhan Mudharāj bhan Dhanarāj bhan Kurapālādiputrayutena.*'

182. Ibid.

183. Ram Vallabh Somani, op. cit., p.221.

184. Ibid., p.222.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid., ll.26-27, '*Prāgvāṭa Vaṁśavatansa Saṁghapati Sāgarsuta Saṁghapati Kurapāla bhāryā, Kamaldeputraparamarhava Saṁghapati Dhārana*'.

Caturmukha in Rāṇā Kumbha's name.[187] It is significant that Saṁghapati Guṇarāja was a favourite of the reigning King Rāṇā Kumbha.[188] The long *Praśasti* of the Guhila Kings in this inscription[189] shows that the influential Jains reciprocated royal favour. Saṁghapati Guṇarāja and other Jain personalities such as Saṁghapati Ratna (Dhārana's elder brother), son Saṁghapatis Lāṣā, Sānja, Sona, Sālīga, Saṁghapati Dhāralde, etc. also figure as prominent men in this record.[190] *Mahāvīr-Prasād-Praśasti* refers to the family of Śreṣṭhī Guṇarāja.[191] He led the *Saṁghayātras* to Śatruñjaya and Rewantak in A.D. 1400 and A.D. 1405 respectively.[192] He is stated to have organized free-kitchens during famines.[193] The Ranakpur *Praśasti* refers to his leadership of a *Saṁghyātra* at the instance of Soma Sundara Sūri of the Bṛihad Tapagacchha after obtaining the necessary permission from the Sultan of Gujarat.[194] The family of Rāval Śrī Lāṣaṇa of Nādlāi (Godwar) figures prominently in Mewar of the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries. Ram Vallabh Somani misses this important family from his list of Jain families.[195] Inscription of A.D. 1500 from Adināth temple,

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187. Ibid., 11.9-30.

188. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., 1.26. '*Rāṇā Śrī Kumbhakarṇa sarvovīrpatisarvabhaumasya Vijaymānarājye tasye Prasādpātrena Vinayavivekadhairaudāryaśubhakarmanirmalaśīlāddyadbhutaguṇamaṇimayābharaṇabhāsuragātreṇa śrī madahammadsuratrānadattaphuramāṇasādhu śrī Guṇarājasaṁghapati*'.

189. Ibid., 11.1-20.

190. Ibid., 1.28.

191. Ibid., p.224.

192. Ibid.

193. Ranakpur praśasti, op. cit., 1.25.

194. Ibid., 1.18. '*Śrī Madahammadsuratrāṇadatta phurmāṇ Sādhu Śrī Guṇarājasaṁghapatisāhācārya*'.

195. Ram Vallab to Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.226.

(Nādlāi), which refers to the origin of the Guhila Kings as *Sūryavaṁśīya*, records the *praśasti* of the *ācāryas* of Sandherā gacchcha and the installation-project undertaken by the family of Rāval lāṣaṇa.[196] The consecration of (the image of) Śrī Ādiśvara was caused to be performed in the Jain monastry, called Sāyara, which was brought to the city of Nandakulavatī (Nādlāi) in Samvat 964.[197] It is significant that Lāṣaṇa of Ukeśa lineage bears the title of Rāval.[198] Thus, this record provides another instance of the incorporation of the wealthy Jains into the sāmanta hieararchy.

The above survey proves that a network of the local Jain families had been gradually integrated into the political structure. The fact is further attested by the instance of Bhāṇḍārī Śrī Velaka whose father is simply referred to as Sāhakolā.[199] Thus, the process of gradual absorption is clear as titles differed from generation to generation. This led to the growth of a network of Jain families close to the royal court. A concluding note to this study of Jain-Guhila relationship is our observation that the so-called, most non-violent social group, the Jains, actively associated with the military enterprises of the Rajputs.

<u>Other Communities: Tāmṭaraḍas and Kāyasthas</u>

The Chiravā inscription of the reign of Mahārāval Samarasiṁha of A.D. 1273 is perhaps the most important

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196. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.424-25, ll.17-19. The genealogy of the family and installation ceremony recorded by the inscription reads as follows: the son of Mahan Mayūra, Mahan Sādūla, belonging to the family Dudā, (who was) the son of Rāval Śrī Lāṣana, of the Rayajadari gotra belonging to the lineage of Ukeśa (Śrī Ukeśavaṁśe) - with their relations Karmasī, Dhārā Lākhā and other members of the family.

197. <u>Ibid</u>., ll.19-20. The consecration ceremony was performed by Devasundara Sūri.

198. <u>Ibid</u>., l.7, '*Śrīukeśavaṁśe rāyajaḍārī gotre Rāul śrī Lāṣaṇa*'.

199. Śriṅgār Chānvarī Inscription, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., ll.2-3.

record of a non-Rajput and a non-Jain family of Mewar which rose in status with the growth of the process of regional state formation. Besides the royal *praśasti*, the record is essentially a *praśasti* and the genealogical list of the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family originating from Nāgdā. It rendered invaluable services to the state both by functioning as *Talarakṣakas* (superintendents of police) of Nāgadrahapura (Nāgdā) and Citrakūṭa as well as captains in the army. It also records the construction and restoration of the temples of Yogeśvara (Śiva) and Yogeśvarī (Pārvatī) and grants to the temples by the same family at Cirakūpa (Chiravā), a village granted to them by Guhila King Padmasiṁha.

The following is a detailed account of the family provided by their own record: In the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family, there was a man named Uddhāraṇa who, being able to protect the good and punish the wicked, was made the Talarakṣa of Nāgadrahapura by the King Māthanasiṁha, and who had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Yogarāja, who in turn was made Talāra in the same city by the King Padmasiṁha. His (Yogarāja's) younger brother was Ratabhū, whose son was Kelhaṇa. Kelhaṇa's son was Udayī, whose son was Karmaṇa. Yogarāja had four sons, namely Pamarāja, Mahendra, Champaka and Kṣema, of whom Pamarāja was killed fighting the army of Suratrāṇa (Sultan) near Bhūtālā, while Nāgadrahapura was destroyed. Mahendra had three sons named Bāla (Bālaka), Ahlādaṇa and Vāyaja. Bālaka's son was Peṭhaka, whose son was Sāmanta, a worshipper of Viṣṇu. While Koṭṭadaka was being taken and a battle with Rāṇā Tribhuvana was being fought, Bālaka was killed fighting in front of the King Jaitrasiṁha.[200] His clever wife Bholī, being unable to bear the pains of separation of her husband, became satī. Champaka had a son named Rājasiṁha whose son was Bhachumḍa. Through the favour of the King Jaitrasiṁha, Kṣema secured the post of Talarakṣa of Citrakūṭa. His son named Ratna was killed along with Bhīmasiṁha in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Citrakūṭa. Ratna's son was Lāla and his brother was Madana. The latter proved his valour in the battlefield of Utthūnaka. Jaitra-

200. Chiravā Inscription, op. cit., v.19.

malla's son Rājasiṁha on being made a minister, paid him (Madana) much respect. Through the favour of the King Samarasiṁha, he (Madana) succeeded his father to the post of Talarakṣa of Citrakūṭa,[201] when he worshipped Śiva in the temple of Tribhuvananārāyaṇa built by King Bhoja. Madana's son was Mohana. Surrounded by hills and beautiful sights, the village Cirakūpa is situated near Nāgahrada and was given as a gift by the King Padmasiṁha to Yogarāja serving in his army.[202] The latter built there the temples of Yogeśvara and Yogośvarī which were restored later on by Madana who granted some land near the lake Kālelāya for the maintenance of these temples.[203]

Another beautiful temple of Viṣṇu called Uddhāraṇa Svāmī had formerly been built there by Uddhāraṇa. Vāyaraka, Pāṭaka, Munda, Bhuvana, Teja, Sāmanta, Āriyāputra, Madana and their descendants were urged to preserve the grant fully.[204] Here is a clear instance of a process in which a local family of a non-Rajput and a non-Jain, social background attained upward mobility. Functioning as Talarakṣa of Nāgdā in itself is evidence of the family's prior importance in the locality of Nāgdā. The record clearly states that Uddhāraṇa was famous for "protecting the good and punishing the wicked". Appointments by the royal authority served both the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family and the state advantageously. The family's career prospects grew in the service of the state as they graduated from the post of Talarakṣa of Nāgdā to that of the capital town, Chittaurgarh, as well as captains in Mewar's army. On the other hand, the state not only strengthened its base by crossing the Rajput-brāhmaṇa-Jain barriers by integrating the locally important families of an entirely different social background through various important administrative and military appointments but also

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201. Ibid., v.22.

202. Ibid., vv.34-35.

203. Ibid., v.40.

204. Ibid., vv.41-42.

checked the growing influence of the locally entrenched Rajput families.

The village of Cirakūpa not only took care of remunerations for their services but created an additional base for the royal family in the Nāgdā belt. During the course of the thirteenth century, the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family had undoubtedly emerged as a focus in the local elite network.

The other influential social category in thirteenth century Mewar seems to have been the Kāyasthas. However, even if they had already figured as wealthy, local, notables in the seventh century and as officials in the tenth century, we do not have records mentioning any Kāyastha functionary in the thirteenth century. However, their prosperity in general is evident from the discovery of a record of a Kāyastha family of Chittaurgarh. A Chittaurgarh pillar inscription of A.D. 1287 of the reign of Samarasiṁha records the grant of few *dramma* coins to the temple of Vaidyanātha, situated on the bank of Citrāṅga lake, by Vījaḍa, son of Kāyastha Pacasīga.[205] The record is too short to throw light on Vījaḍa's ancestral home. We do not know whether he was a migrant or a member of the local society at Chittaurgarh. Like the family of Vījaḍa, a few more Kāyastha families might have emerged prosperous in Chittaurgarh by this period. At least the family of Vījaḍa must have joined the ranks of the local elite and thus functioned as a link between the state and other Kāyastha families. Their status is evident from the wealth they possessed which seems to have distinguished them.

The Bhils in the State Formation of Mewar

In our discussion of the Bhil-Guhila relationship between the seventh and tenth centuries, both the political

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205. Vir Vinod, I, op. cit., p.401, ll.1-3, '*Samvat 1344 Vaiśākha sudi 3 addya śrīcitrakūṭe Samastamāhārājakula Śrī Samarasiṁha devakalyāṇavijayarājye evam kāle citrāṅgataḍāgamadhya Śrī Vaidyanāthakriṭesaka rambatena - kadī dattam 1 Kāyasthajñātīyam pacasīgasuta Vījadena Kārāpitam*'.

implications of the Bhil legends related to the settlement of the early Guhilas in Mewar hills indicating possibly a violent transfer of power and Guhila records suggesting the peasantization[206] of the core-area Bhils have been noted.[207] The long drawn-out relationship between the Guhilas and the Bhils of the Oghna-Panarwa and the Undri seems to have reached a significant height in the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The latter part of the period seems to have coincided with the incorporation of the local Bhil chiefs into the political structure of the Guhila state. The problems of integration demanded that the Bhil chiefs of the core-area be conferred with a suitable political rank. The prestigious title of *Rāṇā* (status equivalent to the royal kinsmen) was conferred upon the Bhil chief of Oghna-Panarwa. This Bhil chief was one of the autochthonous chiefs.[208] The estate of Oghna in Mewar is described as the "sole spot in India" which enjoyed a state of natural freedom.[209] "Attached to no state, having no foreign communication, it lived under its own head, a chief with the title of Rana, head of five thousand bows".[210] Anthropologists like Robert Deliege seem to have taken this description literally. He observes that since many of the Bhils and Bhilālā chiefs are described as Bhumiās or Girāsiās (derived from *girās*, subsistence/a share of the produce of the land) in the literature, the Bhil regions did not actually constitute the normal territories of the Rājās but enjoyed independence

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206. Partial deforestation leading to agricultural activities by a few of the core-area Bhils initiating the process of resource mobilization by the state from the Bhil localities.

207. vide Passim, Ch.I, p.41.

208. Tod, vol.I, op. cit., p.262.

209. Ibid.

210. Ibid.

even as they paid tribute.[211] But such an interpretation is highly questionable. It is important to note that not only the Bhils but many Rajputs of Mewar also enjoyed the status of Bhumiā and Girāsiā. Girāsiās are known to have supplied regular troops to the state while the Bhumiās rendered local, administrative service and paid an annual quit-rent on their estates to the state.[212] The crucial issue of tribe and state does not hinge around the direct annexation of tribal territories, but their political incorporation into the political structure. Their incorporation not only accelerated the process of territorial integration and consolidated state power in Bhomat but also mobilized man-power for the state from within the limits of at least Oghna Panarwa and Undri (Bhil chiefs associated with the coronation ceremonies of the Rāṇās).

The strategic importance of the Bhomat country for the state of Mewar has already been noted. The link routes connecting Chittaur-Malwa to the arterial route down the Palampur gap in Gujarat-Sirohi passed through the Bhomat country.[213] Hills and forests tend to restrict the capacity of governments to move men and goods.[214] The Bhil chiefs of the core-area, once integrated, were expected to facilitate communications throughout the Bhil-country because they were guarding the forests, caves, passes and hill routes. They could function as buffers between the nucleus of the state and the rest of the Bhil population of Bhomat. The fact that the local Bhils were always valuable as forest-guides is evident from their popular names such as *Vanaputras* (the children of the forest), *Māirote* (born of mountain), *Goind*

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211. Robert Deliege, The Bhils of Western India: Some Empirical and Theoretical Issues in Anthropology in India, New Delhi, 1985, p.64.

212. Tod, vol.I, op. cit., p.191.

213. Vide Passim, Ch.I. See the Map on the Routes.

214. Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, op. cit., p.35.

(lord of the caves) and *Pāl Indra* (lord of the pass).[215] Recognition of the Bhils as indispensible forest-guards can be seen in the collection of a levy called *rakhwālī* for the protection of the travellers by the local, Bhil and Rajput Bhumiā and Girāsiā chiefs in their dominion in the latter medieval period.[216] However, the beginnings of this process can certainly be dated back to the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Bhil chiefs in the centre possibly established links with the *Gāmetis* (village headman) of the *Pāls* (a village consisting of Bhil hamlets) in territories beyond their jurisdiction. The institution of the *Gāmeti* was an old feature of the *Pāls*. `The institution, however, is indigenous to the tribe, and it carries with it a considerable amount of prestige and importance, besides financial rewards'.[217] The gradual incorporation of the Bhil *Pāls* and the administrative service rendered by the Bhil *Gāmetis* is evident from the late medieval records of Mewar. The Dhulev *bhāndār* of files and *bahīs* (registers) along with an early nineteenth century inscription reveal some of the traditional duties of the Bhil *Gāmetis* of Magra locality in Mewar. Magra is another Bhil locality in the Mewar hills, away from the Oghna-Panarwa-Undri belt. These records disclose that the ranks of *Gāmeti* and *Girāsiā* were once again bestowed on the former *Gāmeti* and *Girāsiā* of village Bilak and Pāl (a village of the Bhils) Bilak enabling them to execute some of the magisterial powers and police duties.[218] Mobilization of the Bhils from Oghna-Panarwa and Undri for construction

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215. Tod, Tavels in Western India, op. cit., p.39.

216. Tej Kumar Mathur, Feudal Polity in Mewar (1750-1850), Jaipur, 1987, p.138.

217. Shambhu Lal Doshi, The Bhils: Between Societal Self-awareness and Cultural Synthesis (First Edition), New Delhi and Jallandhar, 1971, p.37.

218. G.N. Sharma, "Bhils in the Magra District as revealed from the records of Dhulev Bhandar" in Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress, Udaipur Session, 1977, p.65.

work on fortresses, roads and temporary bridges seems to have been the other important requirement.

Mobilization of miners at least from the local Bhil population continued to be an important aspect of state-tribe relationship. `The intensive process of mining activities specially at Zawar dated back to twelfth century. At Zawar, by the 12th century A.D. zinc was being produced industrially. Already in the late 14th century, production was on a considerable scale, and perhaps it is not surprising that the first direct historical reference to Zawar occurs in 1380 A.D. when Rana Lakshasimha was credited with founding of the mines. Production continued on a major scale for about four centuries before ending during the wars and famine which plagued Rajasthan in the early 19th century, and in the face of western competition. Ironically, the western technology was almost certainly derived from Zawar'.[219] The celebration of the worship of Zawārmātā among the Bhils is a theme of the Bhil folksongs testifying to their long association with the Zawar mines.[220] The local Bhils also seem to have continued to supply the fuel to the Zawar mines. It is evident from the discovery of charcoal retort dumps (smelting) at Zawar particularly between the early eleventh and the seventeenth centuries.[221]

As noted in Chapter I, charcoal preparation has been one of the major economic pursuits of the majority of the Bhils engaged in non-agricultural activities. If the mahājanas were the entrepreneurs at early medieval Araṇyakūpagiri, the social group possibly involved in the organization of mining activities in fifteenth century Zawar is likely to be the Jains. Archaeological and inscriptional evidence points to the presence of elite Jain families in Zawar in the fifteenth century. Today, remains of a number of Jain

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219. Paul T. Craddock et. al. (eds.), op. cit., p.62.

220. Giridharlal Sharma (ed.), Rājasthānī Bhīl-Geet (First Edition), Vol.II, Udaipur, 1956, pp.31-33.

221. Paul T. Craddock, et. al. (eds.), op. cit., p.56.

temples of the fourteenth-fifteenth century stand scattered in and around Zawar.[222] The Zawar Jain temple inscription of A.D. 1421[223] recording the building of the Śāntinātha temple at Zawar by a family of merchants attests to the long association of Jains with the Zawar mines. This association evidently had an economic basis as excavations prove intensive mining activities at this centre of the zinc-lead concentrates especially from the twelfth century onwards. The Jain merchants must have been involved in the entrepreneurship that went into the regular organization of mining and marketing of its products, both raw materials and manufactured zinc, from the local workshops. Thus they are likely to have entered into negotiations with the local Bhil chiefs in mobilizing labour. Similar to Araṇyakūpagiri, the presence of the Jain merchants and Jain temples seem to have created a situation for the emergence of an exchange centre in Zawar by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The state also depended on the local Bhil chiefs for the occasional mobilization soldiers for the state. This statement can at least be true for the territories within the limits of Oghna-Panarwa and Undri. The chief of Oghna-Panarwa has been significantly described as the `head of five thousand bows'.[224] Traditions have preserved accounts of the Bhils fighting for both Rāṇā Hammīra in the fourteenth century and Rāṇā Pratāp in the sixteenth century.

The chivalry exemplified by the Bhils in the battle of Haldīghātī remains a popular theme in Bhil folklore.[225] Mobilization of armies by the different deities of Chittaur leading to the victory of Mahārāṇās of Mewar, is a recurrent

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222. Author's field trip to Zawar.

223. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.401-402.

224. Tod, Annals, vol.I, op. cit., p.262.

225. P.L. Menaria, Bhīlon Kī Lok Kathāyen, vol.III, Delhi, 1968, p.23 ff.

theme of the Bhil songs.[226] These songs not only reflect the popular image of the Guhila rulers but also Bhil involvement in the Mewar-army. However, such themes seem to emanate more from the ranks of the Bhil chiefs.

All these contributions made by the local Bhil population towards the maintenance of the state ran parallel to the continuing process of peasantization of the Bhils in the nucleus of the local Rajput states. Direct evidence of this process comes from the Mala copper plates of the thirteenth century from Vagod. Two Bhils, Nādhol and Ralhuā, figure as witnesses to the royal grants made in the village of Mālā near Dungarpur.[227] R.S. Mann in his discussion on religious attributes of Bhils observes that the plough is an implement of occasional worship, possibly since the time the Bhils shifted to a settled agricultural economy and became dependent on agriculture.[228] The importance of agriculture is also reflected in the folk-songs of those Bhils who are settled in villages. Themes such as field preparation, the harvest and protection of crops from animals are common.[229]

However, peasantization seems to have involved very few Bhils in the core of the Guhila state. It must not be forgotten that the majority of them had been practising hunting, gathering and shifting agriculture. The traditional economic pursuit of the majority of the Bhils is reflected in one of their legends which is popular among the Bhils of Gujarat. Once Mahādeva took a Bhil-girl as his bride. Her brothers went to Mahādeva for the bride price. They were offered Nandī, the bull. Pārvatī (in this case the Bhil bride) told her brothers that the hump of the bull contained unlimited wealth-hinting thereby that by yoking the bull

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226. Giridharlal Sharma, op. cit., vol.I, p.120 and vol.II, pp.115-120.

227. Mala Copper Plates of A.D. 1283 of the Dungarpur Guhilas, EI, Vol.XXII, pp.192-96, 1.35.

228. N.N. Vyas, R.S. Mann and N.D. Chaudhary (eds.), Rajasthan Bhils, Udaipur, 1978, p.117.

229. Giridharlal Sharma, vol.III, op. cit., pp.15-17, 19-22.

they would be prosperous. But the greedy foresters killed the bull to possess the wealth immediately. This angered the goddess and she cursed the Bhils to perennial poverty.[230] The legend proves the unpopularity of agriculture among most Bhils, but the economic process of state formation (horizontal spread of rural settlements) brought about a transformation in some tribal pockets in which at least a small section of the Bhils emerged as agriculturists.

In spite of Bhil participation in the functioning of the state apparatus, a paradox emerges: in the state's image of the Bhils they were one ethinic group, socially despised. Though the *ṭīkā* ceremony performed by the Bhil chiefs at the royal coronations is known to have continued at a latter period,[231] there is no such mention in the official Guhila records. The official attitude is clearly expressed in a thirteenth century record from Chittaurgarh: the enemies of King Allaṭa being impotent to show their contempt (towards him) in the battlefield, treat Bhīllā women disrespectfully and they describe his actions with pleasures in each of the mountains.[232] Secondly, the Bhil residents of the village Mala have been merely designated as "Bhils" without any such titles as Rāul, Rāval, etc designating a few of the contemporary Rajput residents of the village Mala.[233] An understanding of the official image of the Bhils perhaps reveals the actual situation of the Bhils and highlights the problem of tribal integration in the state. In spite of a close and long Bhil-Guhila interaction, the state had to reassert

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230. P.G. Shah, Non-Hindu Elements in the Culture of the Bhils of Gujarat, from Essays in Anthropology presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Calcutta, n.d., (Reprint), pp.181-82.

231. Rajendra Purohit, 'Mewār Ke Mahārāṇāo Kī Rājyābhiṣeka Paramparā', Sodh Patrika, Varṣa 29, No.2, Udaipur, p.46.

232. Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, op. cit., p.74.

233. Mala Copper Plates, op. cit., ll.31 & 35.

itself again and again in the Bhil localities.

The problem is specially evident in the fifteenth century, probably having originated in the long absence of Guhila authority in Mewar for a major part of the fourteenth century. Secondly, the element of egalitarianism, dominant in the Bhil social structure,[234] would have generated problems for the Bhil chiefs (even those of Oghna Panarwa and Undri) in controlling Bhils beyond their limited territorial jurisdiction. Recurrent Bhil revolts have plagued the history of Mewar. Rāṇā Hammīra is credited with the victory over the Bhils of Jilwara (Merwara tract) in Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi inscription of the early fifteenth century.[235] Rāṇā Khetā is eulogized in the Amarakāvyam for having conquered and annexed the territories of the Bhils and Minas.[236] In the fifteenth century Mahārāṇā Kumbha fortified many passes to control the Bhils of Panarwa.[237] Every possible step was taken to fend off possible attacks by Bhils. Significantly, Tod observes that *Khālisā* (royal land) in Mewar was bounded on three sides by wandering, barbarous tribes.[238] In the area between the Bhil tract and the core of the state were estates of Rajput chiefs. Bhil discontent was perhaps responsible for the settlement of a Solaṅkī Rajput chief, Akṣaya Rāja, in Panarwa in the fifteenth century.[239] One of Akṣaya Rāja's successors settled in Oghna in the sixteenth

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234. Surendra Kumar Navlakha, 'The Authority Structure Among the Bhumij And Bhil: A Study of Historical Causations', The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.13, nos.1-3, p.38.

235. op. cit., p.235, v.4, '*Celākhyam Puramgrahida-riganāni Bhillānguhāgehakāni (jji) tvātānkhilānnihatya ca balātkhyātāsinā saṅgare*'.

236. op. cit., p.142, v.6, '*Bhillān mallanibhānmallaihrme dācchedanabhedanaih Minannādināmstanūhinānjitvā jagrāha tanmahih*'.

237. See next chapter: Military Apparatus.

238. Tod Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.166.

239. Tejkumar Mathur, op. cit., p.28.

century.[240] Prior to the Solaṅkīs, a Rajput of Yadu lineage, and a Dudhiā *brāhmaṇa* Udairāj, are known to have lived in the Bhil areas of Panarwa and Oghna respectively.[241] All this had a significant impact on the Bhil chiefs. The presence of Solaṅkī chiefs in Oghna-Panarwa is likely to have been responsible for the Bhil-Solaṅkī marriage in the subsequent period and the claims to the Solaṅkī descent by the chiefs of Oghna-Panarwa. It is well-known that the Bhil chiefs of Oghna-Panarwa claim descent from the Solaṅkī lineage of the Rajputs.[242] Similarly, some more Bhil groups of Mewar, of Magra, Kalyanpur, etc., claim descent from different Rajput lineages.[243] The Solaṅkī Bhils of Oghna-Panarwa may be the oldest case of "Rajputization" among the Bhils of Southern Rajasthan. The category of Bhils claiming Rajput descent is called the Bhilālās (progeny of Rajput fathers and Bhil mothers).[244] They claim a rank superior to the Bhils. Thus the process of state formation in Mewar highlights the process of emergence of differentiation within an egalitarian tribe when it comes in contact with a stratified society. Morton H. Fried makes a similar observation in the context of tribal social formation in general.[245] The Bhilālās such as the Solaṅkī-Bhils of Oghna-Panarwa demonstrate the emergence of an elite section among the Bhils as a result of their close interaction with the state-society over a long period of time.

Perhaps the case of the Solaṅkī-Bhils of Oghna-Panarwa

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240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.195.

243. Ibid., pp.194-95.

244. Gahlot and Dhar, op. cit., p.211.

245. `On the Concepts of "Tribes" and "Tribal Society", paper presented at a meeting of the Division, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University (New York), January 24, 1966, Proceedings, pp.527-540. I am grateful to Dr. Maxine Weisgrau, Columbia University, New York, for presenting this article to me.

is one of the best illustrations of the social aspect of the process of state formation. It is relevant to reiterate Chattopadhyaya's observations in the context of Solaṅkī Bhils of Oghna, 'The process of caste formation remained the essence of the social processes which drew widely dispersed and originally outlying groups into a structure which allowed them in a large measure to retain their original character, except that this character was defined with reference to the structure....'[246]

For the Oghna Bhils of the fifteenth century royal authority was obviously represented by the local Solaṅkī chiefs. Therefore, for the Solaṅkī Bhil chiefs of Oghna Panarwa of the fifteenth-century titled Rāṇā, the following observations can be partially held true, 'Some of these tribal princes found themselves similarly involved in the process of Hinduization and rose to become tributary princes (*sāmanta*) in the course of further development, while others in their turn could preserve their autonomy for centuries....'[247] The study of even the core-area Bhils in Mewar demonstrates that their formal integration into the political structure, and beginnings of "Hinduization", as well as their recurring revolts, cannot locate them as *sāmantas* before the fifteenth century.

SECTION III
SOCIAL ALLIANCES AND RELATIONS WITH CONTEMPORARY POWERS

Social relations of the Guhilas with the Cāhamānas of Suvarṇagirī (Songirā) or Jalor can be seen in the context of Gujarat-Delhi Sultanate imbroglio. The Achaleśvara inscription significantly states that Samarasiṁha (son of Tejasiṁha) lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land high out of the

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246. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and Structure of Policy, op. cit., p.203.

247. Kulke, The Early and Imperial Kingdom, in The State: 1000-1700, op. cit., p.15.

Turuṣka sea.[248] Continuing south-western expansion of the Delhi sultanate with its recurrent inroads into Mewar in its attempts to control Gujarat is also evident from Chiravā inscription recording the battle of Bhūtālā near Nāgadrhapura (between Jaitrasiṁha and Illtutmish).[249] It is also interesting that none of the Persian sources mentions Illtutmish's ventures into Mewar indicating Illtutmish's possible failures in securing the routes to Gujarat through Mewar. Jayasiṁha Sūri's Hammīramadamardana referring to the burning of Medapāṭa in the context of the raids conducted by *Milācchcikāra suratrāṇa*, etc., in Bhāghelā King Vīradhavala's (Gujarat) reign[250] and Jaitrasiṁha as *Medapāṭaprithivīlatam mandalam Jayatalan*,[251] claim by Chiravā inscription that the rulers of Gurjara, Mālava, Jāṅgal (present state of Bikaner in Thar desert and northern part of Mewar)[252] and similarly by an unpublished inscription from Ghaghsa (near Chittaurgarh),[253] the Achaleśvara inscription crediting Jaitrasiṁha with victory over the army of the Turuṣkas and defence of Mewar,[254] and Jinaprabhasūri's *Thīrthakalpa* referring to Samarasiṁha's clash with Ulugh Khan, younger

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248. op. cit., v.46, '*Gurjara mahīmuñcais Turuṣkārṇavat Tejahsiṁha aśeṣa samara.*'

249. op. cit., v.16, '*Nāgadrhapurabhaṁge samam suratrāṇ asainikairyudhvā Bhūtālāhatakūṭe Pamarājah pañcatām prāpa.*

250. C.D. Dalal (ed.), Hammiramadamardana of Jayasiṁha Sūri, Baroda, 1920, p.35, '*Milacchcikara nandanassa nevedidam tam auli bhudena milacchcikaras.*'

251. Ibid., p.287.

252. op. ci., v.6.

253. IA, LVII, p.31, '*Sri Madagurjjara Mālavaturūṣka śākambharī svarair yasya cakre na mānbhaṅgah sa svāhstho jayatu Jaitrasiṁhansipah*'.

254. op. cit., v.42, '*Naḍulamūlaṁkaṣabāhulakṣmīsturūṣka sainyārva Kumbhayonih asminsurādhīśsahāsanasthe rarakṣam bhūmīmatha Jaitrasiṁhah*'.

brother of Sultan Alauddin,[255] prove the Sultanate's interests in Mewar. Hence, the Guhilas attempted to create buffer zones and political allies in their immediate north. Contemporary references to Jaitrasiṁha as the 'uprooter of Naḍūla power'[256] and control over Abu-Sirohi locality for the first time in the late thirteenth century,[257] point to Guhila attempts to control their north-western frontiers. A political ally in central Rajasthan was created in the Cāhamānas of Suvarṇagiri (Songirā). Songirā princess Rupādevī, daughter of Cāhamāna Cācigadeva and sister of Cāhamāna Sāmanatasiṁha was married to Guhila King Tejasiṁha.[258] She was the mother of Guhila prince Kṣetrasiṁha[259]

The Khalji-Tughlaq interregnum in Chittaurgarh in the first half of the fourteenth century is evident from records dated in the reigns of Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq,[260] and seventeenth century Guhila references to the legendary Padminī[261] (and the Alauddin-Padminī episode, more

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255. IA, Vol.XXVI, pp.194-95.

256. Achaleśvara inscription, op. cit., v.42.

257. Ibid., vv.49-52, 58.

258. Burtra inscription of Cāhamāna Sāmantasiṁha of A.D. 1284, EI, IV, pp.312-14, v.5.

259. Ibid., p.313.

260. ARIE, 1956, Appendix C, No.126; URI, op. cit., p.173; ARIE, 1956, pp.189, 198, 233; EIAPS, 1955-56, pp.67-68; Ibid., pp.67-68; Also see Elliot and Dowson, Vol.III, op. cit., p.171. Ziauddin Barani in his Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi refers to Kotwal's advice to Alauddin in A.D. 1297 to conquer the forest of Ranthambhor, Chittaur, Chanderi, Mahva, Dhar, Ujjain, etc.

261. Mention of the name of Padminī in any Guhila royal source occurs for the first time in the seventeenth century in Rājpraśasti Mahākāvyam, op. cit., Canto 3, vv.3-4; A local bardic text, Chhitāī Charitra composed in A.D. 1526, and Malik Muhmmad Jayasī's Padmāvat composed in A.D. 1540. Padmāvatī Charitra Chaupaian and Hemaratna's Gorā Bādal Charitā are cited in RTA, op. cit., p.666; Nainsī's Khyat, op. cit., vol.I, p.14. Ratansī Ajaisīro bhada Lakhamsīno bhāī, Padminīre mamte Lakh

bardic lore than historic truth) testify to the fall of the Guhilas at Chittaurgarh. However, Songirā presence at Chittaurgarh possibly as the subordinates of the Tughlaqs is directly borne out by a record of Songirā prince Vanavīra of A.D. 1338.[262] It is strange that historians such as M.S. Ahluwalia in his Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan: The Relations of Delhi Sultanate with Rajasthan 1206-1526,[263] ignore contemporary evidence on the Songirās at Chittaurgarh as Nainsī too mentions the Songirās at Chittaur.[264] The Guhila-Songirā marriage recorded in the bardic traditions of Mewar[265] highlights the importance of the Songirās for the Guhilas. Rāṇā Hammīra is stated to have married Songirā Vanavīra's sister, a Songirā Cāhamāna princess. Baḍvādevīdān Khyāt names a Songirā queen of the legendary Rāṇā Hammīra,[266] and Nainsī, a Songirā mother of Hammīra.[267] The political mileages of such a marriage for the early princes of the Rāṇā branch is obvious in view of the eclipse of the Guhila power at Chittaurgarh in the fourteenth century and the rise of the Songirā Cāhamānas at Chittaur, with their

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amse nāu Ratansī Alāvadī Sulādne Kāmāyo; Also see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, op. cit., pp.76-77. Amir Khusrau in Khazainul-Futuh narrates the sack and capture of Chittaurgarh but never alludes to Padminī.

262. P.C. Nahar, Vol.II, op. cit., p.242, *'Śrī Māladevaputra Śrī Vanavīra Satkam Sīlādāra Mahamad adeva suhad siṁha Canumkara Satkamputra'*.

263. Delhi, 1978, pp.103-104.

264. Nainsi's Khyat, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.204-05. *'Mālde muchhālo savantsīro veto gadaro hai pachālī Mālde ghana Vigad kiyā pach ai sāh gaḍa citor māldenu diyovās 7 Mālde bhog kiyo Pachāi Mālde Chītor kālprāpta huo.'*.

265. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.219

266. op. cit., p.1.

267. op. cit., p.22.

territorial hold over Godwar region.[268] Political alliances of Guhilas with Songirās seem to have continued as the traditions record marriage of a Sīsodiā (Rāṇā Guhilas) princess Subālī with a Songirā chief Rāo Sāmantasiṁha,[269] and induction of Songirā prince Vanavīra into the royal services of Mewar.[270] Although none of the fifteenth century Guhila records refers to any Guhila-Songirā matrimonial alliance, the presence of the Songirās at Chittaurgarh points toward possibilities of Guhila social linkages with the Songirā Cāhamānas.

Social linkages of the fifteenth century Guhilas with contemporary Rajputs such as the Bāghelās and Yādavas of Gujarat and Khīchīs of Gagraun need to be seen in perspective of the rise of Gujarat and Malwa as sultanates and the ensuing problems of defending the western and south-eastern frontiers. Even before the rise of the sultanate of Gujarat, there was a Guhila-Bāghelā clash at the western frontier of Mewar leading to the Guhila capture of a local fortress, Koṭṭadaka (modern kotra).[271]

Bāghelās too claimed victory over Mewar in the mid-thirteenth century. A Bāghelā landgrant A.D. 1260 refers to the Bāghelā Rāṇā Vīsaladeva of Dholka as 'who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper

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268. EI, Vol.IX, pp.62-63. Suzerainty of the Songirā Cāhamānas over Godwar in the mid-fourteenth century is evident from Kot-Solankiya (Desuri-Nāḍol belt) inscription of the reign of Songirā Vanavīra of A.D. 1337; Ibid., pp.63-64, Nādlāi stone inscription of the reign of Rana Vīradeva (Vanavīra's son), *`Śrī Nāḍulāi nagare lCāhumānānvaya mahārājādhirāj śrī Vanavīradeva sutarājāśrī [ra]navīradeva vijayarājye.'*

269. Nainsī Rī Khyāt, Vol.II, op. cit., p.65.

270. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.319.

271. Chiravā inscription, op. cit., v.19, *`Bālakah Koṭṭadakagrahane śrījaitrasiṁhanṛipa puratah Tribhuvanarāṇakayuddhe jagām yuddhvā param lokom'. Rāṇā Tribhuvana (successor to Bhīmadeva II) Bāghela ruler of Gujarat, was evidently a contemporary of Jaitrasiṁha.*

like turbulent government of the Medapāṭa country".[272] It is equally significant that the Bāghelās acknowledged Guhila Jaitrasiṁha as *Medapāṭapṛithivīlalāṭamandalam Jayatalam.*[273] The rise of Ahmad Shah I (contemporary of Rāṇā Mokal) in Gujarat leading to repeated incursions into Mewar and Guhila counter-claims of victory and Firuz Shah of Nagaur and Pātsāha Ahmad,[274] and Rāṇā Kumbha's programme of territorial expansion in the northwestern frontiers of Mewar to control the fortresses of Nagaur, Narena, etc.[275] along with his politics of allying with the fugitive Ghurid princes from Malwa (necessitating a Mewar-Gujarat military alliance against Malwa) and a counter alliance by Malwa with Gujarat against Mewar,[276] necessitated close Guhila-Bāghelā and Guhila-Yādava political cooperation which led to the matrimonial alliances with the Bāghelās and the Yādavas. Mokal's Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi inscription eulogizes his Bāghelī queen, Gaurāmbikā at great length.[277]

Gujarat's continuing attempts in controlling the for-

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272. IA, Vol.VI, p.210, 1.4.

273. Jayasiṁha Suri's Hammīramadamardana, op. cit., p.287.

274. Rāṇā Mokal's Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi inscription, op. cit., v.14, Kuṁbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., v.221; E.D. Bayley, History of Gujarat, Delhi (Reprint), 1970, p.120. Tabakat-i-Akbari and Tarikh-i-Alfi narrate Ahmad Shah's invasion of Jilwara (Chelvāṭa of Śṛiṅgiṛiṣi inscription, located in north-western Mewar).

275. Ranakpur praśasti, op. cit., 1.12. Nāgpura and Narānka have been identified with Nagaur and Narena respectively.

276. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa: A Political and Cultural History: 1401-1562, Delhi, 1965, pp.132-33; E.D. Bayley, op. cit., p.148; Tara Mangal, op. cit., p.112, f.n.12.

277. op. cit., vv.23-25 '(for her) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghelās, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince... nabhnama... who was graced with prosperity.... For (that) Gaurāmbikā, ...this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhanda has been constructed by Mokala....'

tresses of the Abu-Sirohi belt and its protectorate, the Sultanate of Nagaur,[278] diverted Mewar towards its north-western frontiers. A number of inscriptional records issued by Kharataragacchha Vasahī of Abu in A.D. 1458,[279] an image incription from Caturmukha Vihār of A.D. 1461 and the Gaumukh inscription from Achalgarh referring to the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, speak for Mewar-Gujarat rivalry over Abu. It is also significant that the Persian sources speak of repeated attempts by Gujarat to seize Kumbhalgarh and Chittaurgarh.[280] Hence, social alliances with local Rajput families of Gujarat became an indispensible strategy against the Sultanate of Gujarat.

If Mokal had a Bāghelī queen, a Guhila princess Ramāvatī (Kumbha's daughter) was married off to Rāya Maṇḍalīka, the Yādava ruler of Junagarh. The way the Viṣṇu temple inscription of Ramāvatī from Zawar (A.D. 1497) eulogizes the

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278. Bayley, op. cit., pp.148-49; Mirat-i-Sikandari cited in Tara Mangal, op. cit., p.112, f.n.21; B. Dey (ed.), Nizamuddin Ahmad's Tabakat-i-Akbari, Vol.II, Calcutta, 1927, p.2; Khyām Khān Rāso cited in Tara Mangal, op. cit., p.42, narrates the defeat of Firuz Khan of Nagaur by Rāṇā Mokal, '*Bhājī calyo Perojākhān, tāṅkī hau Nāgaur l Pachhe pāve luṭaṭo, Mokal Śrī Sirmaur*'. Also see Tod, Annals, I, op. cit., p.331. Two Persian inscriptions from Narena and Didwana of A.D. 1437 issued in the reign Mahahid Khan (Firuz Khan's brother) refer to Rāṇā Mokal's victory against Firuz Khan. See Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, 1923-24, p.15; Ibid., 1949-50, p.22; Chittaurgarh inscription of Mokal, op. cit., v.51; Kumbhalgarh praśasti, op. cit., v.22; Ekaliṅgajī temple dakṣiṇa dvāra praśasti, op. cit., v.44, claim Mokal's victory over Firuz Khan of Nagaur.

279. Arbudacala Prācina Jain Lekhā Samgraha cited in Tara Mangal, op. cit., p.114.

280. Tabakat-i-Akbari, and Mirat-i-Sikandari cited in Tara Mangal, Ibid., pp.114-15, f.n.28-30.

Yādavas,[281] speaks of their political importance for the fifteenth century Guhilas. Even the seventeenth century sources refer to Rāṇā Kumbha's control over Junagarh (Saurashtra).[282] The Guhilas continued to strengthen their social linkages with the local Rajput powers of Gujarat at least upto the end of the fifteenth century: traditions speak of Rāṇā Rāimalla's (son and successor of Kumbha) chief queen, a princess from Idar (Banaskantha region of north-eastern Gujarat), and how Rāimalla captured Chittaurgarh from Kumbha's assassin Udayasiṁha (I) with the help of his father-in-law, the Rajput ruler of Idar.[283]

Malwa's repeated incursions into Mewar, attempted invasions of Chittaurgarh, Kumbhalgarh, Maṇḍalgarh, Hāḍāvatī and Gagraun throughout the fifteenth century,[284] and Kumbha's claim of defeating a joint army of Malwa and Gujarat[285] resulted in a matrimonial alliance of the Guhilas with the Khīchīs of Gagraun. Traditions record the marriage of Lālbāī (Mokal's daughter) with Acalaldās Khīchī.[286] Since Gagraun commanded a strategic point on the route between Malwa and Mewar, the politico-military significance of the

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281. IHQ, Vol.XXXIV, no.1, pp.215-225, 11.2,4,19;*Śrī Citrakūṭādhipati Śrī Mahārājādhirājmahārāṇā Śrī Kumbhakarṇa putrī [Śrī Jījrnprākāre Sorathapatimahārāyam, Rāya śrī Maṇḍalīka bhāryā śrī Ramām[m] bāīe•śrīmatkumbhanṛipasya diggajaradātikrām kīrtayam bhudheh kanyā Yādav Vaṁśāmandana śrī māṇḍalīka priyā 11 Saurāṣtreśvara Yādavanvayamaneh śrī Maṇḍalīka prabhorājñī cāru Ramāvatī vṛtanute sam.*' Also see, Ibid., 11.25-33.

282. Amarakāvyam, op. cit., ch.X, p.163, v.23, `*Gurjaram jarjaram cakre Junāgaḍh Vikhandanah*'.

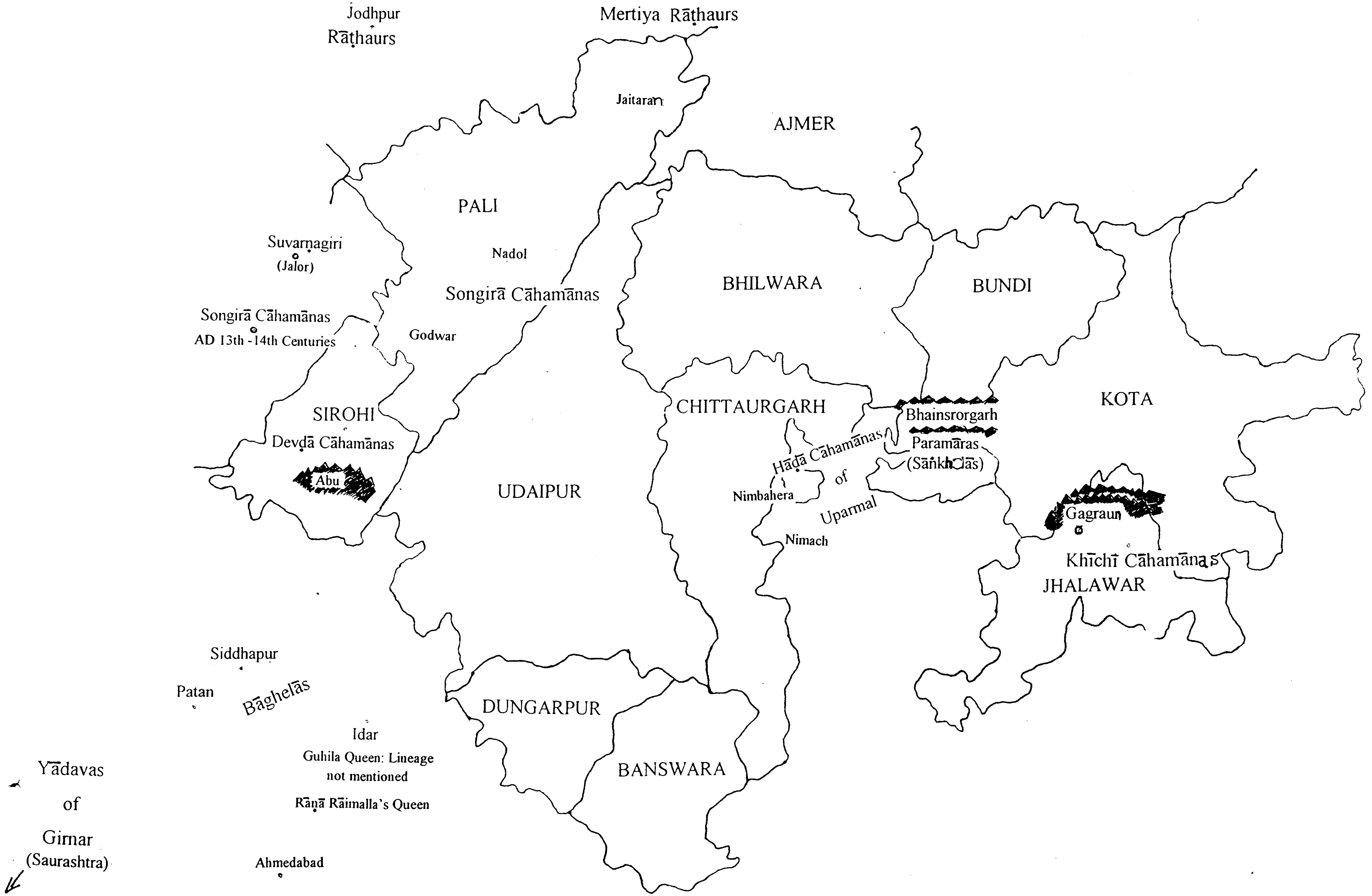
283. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.336-37.

284. U.N. Day, op. cit., p.140; Tara Mangal, op. cit., pp.61-67.

285. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., pp.212-22. Kīrtistambha praśasti of Kumbha of A.D. 14 , vv.171-72; Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam,op. cit., p.183, v.3, `*Rakṣorūpārimurvī bharanṛipaśamanah sukṣamī Mlecchaghātī jīāt Śrī Kumbhakarṇo daśavidhakṛitikṛtaśrīpatih kopi nabyah.*'

286. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.228-29.

Inscriptional and Bardic References to the Matrimonial Alliances of the Guhilas AD 13th - 15th Centuries



social linkages with the Khīchīs of Gagraun can not be underestimated for the Guhilas of the fifteenth century. Undoubtedly, the social alliances with the neighbouring Rajput powers beyond Mewar facilitated Guhila hold, however difficult and tenuous over some of the fortresses claimed by the contemporary records.[287]

Guhila attempts at magnifying their own status vis-a-vis the neighbouring sultans (Qutabuddin Mahmud Beghara in Gujarat and Mahmud Khalji and Ghiyasuddin Khalji in Malwa) in their fifteenth century charters[288] also point towards Mewar's military pre-occupation with Gujarat, Malwa and Nagaur. If the claim of the Guhila began with the liberation of Gayā from the Yavanas,[289] indicating a local tīrtha possibly in the central Rajasthan (Nagaur),[290] Kumbha credits the same predecessor, Lakṣasiṁha with the liberation of *tristhalī*; the three tīrthas of Kāshī, Prayāg, and Gayā in the Gangetic plains[291] magnifying the Guhila image in the eyes of the local Rajput chiefs. Finally, Mewar was also

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287. Ranakpur Praśasti, op. cit., 1.14, claims victory of Rāṇā Kumbha over Gāgrana.

288. See for instance, Kumbha's Kīrttistambha praśasti, op. cit., vv.171-74 and Ekalingajī dakṣina dvāra praśasti, op. cit., v.54, *'Mādyān Mālavanātha mūrdhani caraṇam datvā raṇe dīdahata Kumbho śrī sārangapuram sapauranikaram dharādhiśvarah'*.

289. Śṛiṅgiriṣi inscription, op. cit., v.11, claims Lakṣasiṁha (Lākhā, Mokal's predecessor) liberating Gayā from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years.

290. Chittaurgarh inscription of Mokal, op. cit., vv.38, 41, *'Nītiprītibhujārjjitāni bahuśo ratnāni yatrānādayam dāyam dāyammāyayā vyatanuta dhastāmtarāyām gayām 11 tīrthānām Karamākalyaya vidhinā nyatrāpi yukta dhanam praudhagravanibadhatīrthasarasījāgraddyaśombhorūhah 11 Rūdhvāśeṣa padāmśakādhipakaravyagrībhavajjīvinām dhīromūmucadarjjunīmiva gayām māyāvimuktāyaśāh 11 dharmaśvāsya samastalokamahitah kāṣṭām paramāgato nih satvīkritadharmmarājavasate padmālayāsadmanah 11'*

291. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, v.207, *'Kunasapāsam sakalanripasthat yastristhal mocanatah śakebhyah.* Also see Ibid., vv.209-11; *Ekalingajī temple dakṣina dvāra praśasti*, op. cit., v.38

militarily involved with its immediate Rajput powers such as the Hāḍās of Bundi, the Rāṭhaurs of Mandor and the Devḍā Cāhamānas of Sirohi to control the fortresses strategic to its eastern, northern and north-western frontiers respectively. Conquests of Vṛindāvatī (Bundi) are twice mentioned in Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*[292] while that of Hāḍāvatī (eastern Mewar extending into Bundi) figures separately.[293] The very first Guhila reference to possession of Vṛindāvatī appears only in the context of Kumbha's conquests.[294] In view of continuing Hāḍā resistance from Bundi, it is significant that *Baḍvādevīdān* does not mention a single Hāḍā queen for Kumbha. With the emergence of the Rāṭhaurs in Marwar in the latter half of the fifteenth century, Mewar found it difficult to control the fortresses of Mandor, Sojat, etc. Although the Ranakpur *praśasti* claims Kumbha's victory over *Merū Manḍor*,[295] the situation had significantly changed for the Guhilas as Kumbha is later stated to have captured Manḍor by killing the enemy family.[296] In contrast, Kumbha's control over the Abu-Sirohi belt does not figure in the Guhila records in such terms as that of Manḍovarpur or Vṛindāvatī. Kumbha's landgrant charters appeared in Ajahari, Sirohi as early as A.D. 1437[297] while his inscriptions

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292. op. cit., 4th slab, vv.259, 263, '*Pratyārthipārthivāparājya janmahetu Vṛindāvatīpura malidahadeśa Virahor*'.

293. Ibid., v.264, '*jitvā deśamanaka durgaviṣaṇam. Hāḍāvatīm helayā*'.

294. Unlike Mokal's records, Ranakpur praśasti refers for the first time to Kumbha's conquest of Vṛindāvatī, op. cit.

295. op. cit., 1.12.

296. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, v.249, '*Yana Vairīkulam hatvā Manḍovarapuragṛihe*'.

297. Nandiya copper-plate charter cited in H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., p.79.

at Abu continued to appear till late fifteenth century.[298] Although local bardic traditions of Sirohi record the name of Devḍā Cāhamāna, Ḍoḍiā Narasiṁha, son of Rāo Śāljī, as conqueror of the fortresses of Abu, Vasantgarh, Bhūla, etc.,[299] a local popular song celebrates the conquest of Abu, a Devḍā possession, and building of palaces and lakes there to Kumbha. "Ḍoḍe Rāo Sīrohī dujāḍā dalasajdā par haṁsa diā Ābu girvar Śikhar uparan Kumbhe sarovar mahal kiā" (although Sirohi belonged to Rāo Ḍoḍe, it is Kumbha who gifted the swan-like mount of the Abu with the palaces and lakes).[300] Such popular traditions reflect Guhila control of the Abu-Sirohi belt for a considerable time in the fifteenth century. Interestingly, *Baḍvādevīdān* lists a Devḍā queen each for the early kings of the Rāṇā branch like Khetā and Lākhā as well as two Devḍā queens for Rāṇā Rāimalla, Rāj Kunwar, Devḍā Rāo Gopā's daughter and Champā Kunwar, Devḍā Rāo Lākhā's daughter.[301] Social relationship with the Devḍā Cāhamānas of Sirohi became politically significant in view of the Mewar-Gujarat clash over Abu. Hence, Guhilas seem to have a better control over the Abu-Sirohi belt than the Marwar of the Rāṭhaurs or Bundi of the Hāḍās.

Finally, but not the least, occasional victory over Rajput forts beyond Mewar undoubtedly brought additional resources, seized during the campaigns. Also commercial wealth accruing from the trade routes that some of these fortresses commanded, was obviously diverted towards the Guhila state of Mewar. A part of this wealth is likely to have contributed towards the making of the massive forts in Kumbha's reign.

We have tried to answer some questions related to the

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298. Kīrttistambha inscription, op. cit., v.284, refers to Kumbha's conquest of Abu and building of the fort of Achalgarh.

299. G.H. Ojha, History of Sirohi, op. cit., p.194; Also see Idem, URI, Vol.I, op. cit., p.283.

300. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.332.

301. op. cit., pp.2, 3 & 7.

nature of and changes in the political structure of the Mewar state between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. If kinsmen dominated and participated more in the organization and control of Guhila territory in the thirteenth century, socio-political links with the non-Guhila Rajput chiefs of Eastern Mewar seem to have ensured a better defence of Chittaurgarh and hinterland in the fifteenth century. However, the Guhilas had to reassert themselves both in Eastern Mewar and in the Bhil dominion. Their social linkages with Rajput powers outside Mewar between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries also helped them to tackle military problems and retain the Guhila power. Incorporation of non-Rajput social groups such as Jains, the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family from Nāgdā, and the Bhil chiefs into the political structure strengthened the socio-economic and political base of the state. A long process of regional state formation culminated in a dynastic tradition in which the state of Mewar came to be identified with the Guhila royal family, as indicated by attempts by fifteenth century kings of Mewar to identify with the Guhilas.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY APPARATUS OF THE STATE OF MEWAR MID 13TH-15TH CENTURIES A.D.

The present chapter probes into the exercise of state power through the administrative and military apparatus, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The crucial questions would essentially relate to the structure of the royal authority and the delegation of royal power in the administration. Locally influential social groups can be expected to have shared administrative and military responsibilities with the ruler. While wealthy Jain families probably had a share in administrative tasks, non-Guhila Rajput chiefs were to maintain the second line of defence for the state of Mewar.

The administrative apparatus in our period saw a series of qualitative changes involving various departments of the administration. These changes undoubtedly are an indicator of the consolidation of the power of the state. Secondly, and more significantly, there is a change in personnel. Non-Rajput social groups such as the Jains, the important local family of the Ṭāmṭaraḍas of Nāgdā, and others from Mount Abu figure as prominent officials. While non-Guhila Rajput chiefs were integrated through the system of ranking and the administrative positions between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, the state retained its power between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries by integrating newly emerging non-Rajput social groups through a similar process. Changes in administrative personnel also reflect the growing military dimension of the state and the martial identity of the Rajputs by the thirteenth century. It is the logical culmination of the process of regional state formations that in their course of territorial expansion over a long period of time they were bound to compete with each other over common resources at points of time and space. The case of

Mewar reveals diversion of the Rajput chiefs towards battlefields from the thirteenth century onwards. Hence, incorporation of the non-Rajput personnel into the administrative structure in the thirteenth century served both the state and the integrative process.

New Administrative Offices

Three offices of the administration figuring for the first time in the thirteenth century records are those of the pradhāna, mahāmātya, and talarakṣaka.

Pradhāna:

The Chittaur inscription of the reign of Tejasiṁha (A.D. 1267) is issued by the family of the Pradhāna, Rajputra Kāṅgā.[1] The Chiravā inscription (A.D. 1273) records the death of the Pradhāna Bhīmasiṁha, fighting at the foothills of Chittaurgarh.[2] The presence of the Pradhāna in addition to mahāmātya (chief minister) suggests increase in the administrative responsibilities of the state as a consequence of the growing territorial power of the centre. The expansion of the Guhila state into the upper Banas plain and the transfer of the capital to Chittaurgarh in the thirteenth century brought with it problems of consolidation. Territorial expansion and increasing administrative responsibilities might have necessitated the post of Pradhāna in addition to the mahāmātya.

Dasharath Sharma finds it difficult to distinguish

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1. op. cit., 1.1, *Śrī Tejasiṁhadevakalyāṇa Vijayī rājā Vijayamāna Pradhānrāja Rājputrakāṅgāputraparonārī Sāho.*

2. op. cit., v.26. Besides the official sources of Mewar, contemporary literary texts such *Kharatara-gacchchha-bṛihadgurvāvalī* mentions the office of Pradhāna. For instance, Rāja Pradhāna Jagaddeva Pratīhāra lead armies of Bhīmadeva II (Caulukya) against Sapadalakṣa and Malwa, op. cit., p.34.

between a mahāmātya and a pradhāna.[3] However, he distinguishes the nature of their duties: '...the Pradhāna had probably more of military duties than the Mahāmātya who was concerned mainly with the transactions of the royal seal.'[4] Sharma quotes instances of Pradhānas such as Bhīmasiṁha of Mewar in mid-thirteenth century Mewar, who died fighting at the foot of Chittaur hill.[5] G.C. Sharma in the context of medieval Rajasthan defines a pradhāna as the premier, and the military minister.[6] However, he does not explain the military functions of a Pradhāna but simply places him next to the ruler[7] Somani on the basis of two contemporary manuscripts of Mahārāṇā Kumbha's period (Ādināth Stavan and Āvaśyakvṛihad Vṛitti, where the term pradhāna has been used for Kumbha's mukhyamantrī Sajjanapāla Navalakha and the term rājamantrī for the same person) argues that pradhāna and mukhyamantrī or rājamantrī seems to have been the one and the same person.[8] At the same time he argues that since the designation the pradhāna was being used in the plural in contemporary literary sources, the post of Pradhāna probably meant ministers, and was occupied by more than one person.[9] But Somani's observations are misleading, because he contradicts himself by claiming that it referred to both the ministers and the chief minister (mukhyamantrī) at the same time. The parallel functioning of a Pradhāna and a mahāmātya in the thirteenth century Guhila court proves the dis-

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3. D. Sharma, RTA, op. cit., p.705. '*Chitor records familiarise us with two ministerial titles Mahāmātya and Pradhāna. How they differed is not exactly clear*'.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Administrative System of the Rajputs, New Delhi, 1979, p.15.

7. Ibid., p.16.

8. MK, op. cit., pp.158-159.

9. Ibid., p.159.

tinction between the two functionaries. The distinction between the two offices is also corroborated by *Kanhaḍade Prabandha* which separately mentions the amātyas and the pradhāna.[10] Keeping with the growth of the office of Pradhāna, it is not unusual that a Pradhāna came to combine the functions of a rājamantrī/mukhyamantrī by Rāṇā Kumbha's period in Mewar. It is significant that mahāmātyas and pradhānas figure as distinct functionaries in the royal records in the early medieval period. In a copper plate grant of the śīlāhāras of A.D. 1094, mahāmātya Śrī Nauvitaka Vāsaida, mahāpradhāna Pādhīsena Śrī Mahādevaiya Prabhu (translated as the great minister) in the first rank at the Treasury while in the second rank Pradhāna (translated as minister) Śrī Somanaiya Prabhu appear all together in the administration in the reign of mahāmandaleśvara King Anantadeva.[11]

Mahāmātya (Chief Minister):

The office of the mahāmātya too appears for the first time in the thirteenth century. The office of amātya is evident from the pre-thirteenth century Guhila records such as the Saraneśvara temple.[12] But none of the Guhila records of the early medieval period ever mentions a mahāmātya.

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10. Dasharath Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, op. cit., p.245. Meena Sogani and R.M. Khandelwal make a pertinent observation that perhaps best describes the post of Pradhāna in the context of medieval Rajathan. 'According to the administrative traditions of Rajputana, the pradhan was next to the ruler. He exercised a number of civil, financial, judicial and military powers. The vast powers of the pradhan carried with them enormous responsibilities of the office. A pradhan in order to successfully perform his duties was expected to be an accomplished courtier, besides having a thorough understanding of the various branches of administration', State Level Personnel Administration in India: A Case Study of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1987, p.2.

11. IA, Vol.IX, p.35, ll.65-68.

12. Vide Passim, Ch.II, Section: Administrative Apparatus.

This begins only in the early thirteenth century. The evolution of the office of the amātya into that of the mahāmātya is itself a strong indicator of the diversification of administrative duties and the growth of the state-apparatus. The office of the mahāmātya presumes the presence of a number of the amātyas.

Contemporary Jain texts speak of the mahāmātya Śrī Jagatsiṁha in Guhila Jaitrasiṁha's reign[13] and the mahāmātya Śrī Samuddhara in Guhila Tejasiṁha's reign.[14] A mahāmātya of the thirteenth century seems to have acquired the popular designation of Rājamantrī or Mukhyamantrī by the fifteenth century in Mewar. The Jain text Āvaśyakbrihadvṛitti refers to Sādhu (Sāhu) Śrī Sajjanapāla Navalakha of the Ukeśa lineage (the chief minister in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign) as Rājamantrī.[15] Rāṇā Kumbha in his Saṅgītarāja use the term mukhyamantrī for a rājamantrī or mahāmātya.[16] It is already noted that Rājamantrī Sajjanapāla Navalakha also acquired the title of pradhāna as he presumably combined the duties of both mahāmātya and pradhāna.[17] It is also evident from the contemporary records that the post of mukhyamantrī/mahāmātya had become hereditary by the fifteenth century. This indicates that royal power was being increasingly delegated rather than centralized. Rājamantrī Sajjanapāla had succeeded his father Rāmadeva Navalakha to

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13. Daśavaikālikādisutrapatrikā, Jaina pustakapraśasti saṁgraha, op. cit., p.116.

14. Śrāvaka Pratikramaṇasutracūrnī, Ibid., p.126.

15. Ibid., p.148.

16. Premlata Sharma (ed.), Kumbhapraṇīta Saṅgītarāja, New Delhi, 1963, p.23, `*rājāsa syādvivādī ripuriva vivadan mukhyamantrīva tasmin samvādī samvadan yonuvadati khalu tam sonuvādī svaroasmin*'.

17. Cf. C.D. Dalal (ed.), Lekhapaddhati, Baroda, 1925, p.2. Lekhapaddhati, a contemporary text from Gujarat, discusses the office of the mahāmātya and not that of the pradhāna.

the chief ministership. Rāmadeva Navalakha is known to have functioned as the mukhyamantrī in the entire period of the reigns of Rāṇā Kṣetrasiṁha, Rāṇā Lakṣasiṁha and Rāṇā Mokal.[18]

A mahāmātya/mukhyamantrī or a rājamantrī was in-charge of the royal seal. This particular responsibility seems to indicate that stage in the process of state formation when the office of the king had risen above the routine organization of the administration of his territory. The term *mudrā* (seal) is repeatedly associated with the mahāmātya in contemporary sources.[19] Śrāvaka Pratikramaṇsutrachurṇī testifies to the signatures of Tejasiṁha's mahāmātya Śrī Samuddhara in all the royal transactions particularly in cash, (*Śrīkaranādimudrāvyāparparipanthayati*). Kanhaḍadeprabandha and Prithvīcandracarita of the fifteenth century mention śrīkaranādhikārī and vyāyakaranādhikārī as functionaries in the departments of income and expenditure respectively.[20] A mahāmātya/ mukhyamantrī seems to have been incharge of not merely governmental income but of expenditure as well. 'The seal was kept in the custody of mukyamantrī who was looked upon as overall in charge of the administrative machinery'.[21] Thus all the royal deeds and grants were expected to carry the mukhyamantrī's signature duly authorized by the royal seal.

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18. Ram Vallabh Somani, Jain Inscriptions, op. cit., p.225.

19. A thirteenth century Jain text, Tarunaprabhasūri's Samyaktva tathā śrāvana bār vrata refers to the authority of mantrī over the royal-seal. cited in, MK, op. cit., ,p.159. '*Mantrī nā āvoi taun māhārī sarvādhipatya mudrā le āvī*'.

20. D. Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, op. cit., p.245; Lekhapaddhati also begins the list of the governmental departments, 'karanas' with Śrīkarana (income) and vyāyagarana (expenditure), op. cit., p.1.

21. Upendra Nath Day, Mewar Under Mahārāṇā Kumbha, New Delhi,1978, p.130.

In the same context, the Abu royal charter of A.D. 1449 issued in Kumbha's reign has been quoted again and again by modern scholars to argue for centrifugal processes in the Guhila State. This is because the charter is not duly signed by Kumbha's mukhyamantrī, and instead by a local-level functionary, Dośī Ramana.[22] Dośī Ramana is stated to have declared his subordinate status to an higher official Duṅgar Bhoja, by assuming *praṇamati nitya* as a suffix to his name.[23] On the basis of such evidence, Upendra Nath Day observes, `The mukhyamantrī generally put his signature on charity grant-deeds, but we cannot definitely state the extent to which his signature was compulsory on such deeds. This doubt arises because we find that deeds executed by some of the sāmanatas do not bear the signature of the Mukhyamantrī. The probability is that he used to put his signature on royal grants which certainly enjoyed a higher status than others'.[24] Day's generalization that only those royal grant-deeds enjoyed higher status which were duly signed by the mukhyamantrī is highly questionable. The record under discussion, the Abu inscription of A.D. 1449, announcing governmental exemptions from a number of local cesses to pilgrims, was undoubtedly a document of immense political importance for the Guhila state, in view of the social (concentration of the Jains), commercial and strategic importance of Mount Abu. It is plausible that since the royal charter was issued from Abu, reasonably distant from the capital Chittaurgarh, the deed was signed by a local functionary (treated equivalent to a sāmanta by U.N. Day). It was not realistic to issue every charter for distant places from the capital, or for the mukhyamantrī to travel far to sign a deed. After all, the very function of local officials was to meet such administrative needs. One impor-

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22. MK, op. cit., pp.159-160, 393, 1.18. Also see H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., pp.175-176.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., pp.130-131.

tant fact should not be ignored that Dośī Ramana addressed the charter to mahan (*mahantak*, an accountant) Duṅgar dated in the reign of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (Kumbha)[25] Mahan Duṅgar was apparently a higher revenue-official, possibly associated with the commercial cesses and the toll-tax. The point is also testified by the Delwara inscription of A.D. 1494 which mentions mahan Duṅgar in connection with royal grants made from a number of local cesses.[26] Dośī Ramana followed the official rules of conduct and executed his part of the duty by signing the governmental-deed as he was locally present. Thus, the practices of the administrative convenience should not be misconstrued in support of the centrifugal forces.

Day, discussing the office of the mukhyamantrī in the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, writes: 'The mantrīs also at times addressed as amātya distributed various duties amongst themselves which included foreign affairs, home affairs'.[27]

Talarakṣa/Talarakṣaka:

As already noted,[28] a Ṭāmṭaraḍa family of Nāgdā held the post of Talarakṣa from the end of twelfth century. The Chiravā inscription of A.D. 1273 states that Uddhāraṇa of Ṭāmṭaraḍa family was made the talaraksa of Nāgadrahapura (Nāgdā) by Māthanasiṁha.[29] Yogarāja the eldest son of Uddhāraṇa was in turn made the Talāra in the same city by

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25. Abu royal, charter of A.D. 1449, op. cit., 1.6, '*Gaḍapotyāru rāṇi Kumbhakarṇī mahaṇ Dugar bhojā jogyam mayā udharī jiko jyātri āvi tihirū sarvamu*'.

26. MK, op. cit., p.393, 11.6-13.

27. Upendra Natha Day, op. cit., p.131.

28. vide Passim, ch.III, Section: Socio-Political Linkages with non-Rajput Social Groups.

29. op. cit., v.10, '*Yam duṣtaśiṣṭaśik ṣanrakṣanadakshatvatastalārakṣam 1 Śrī Māthanasiṁhanṛpatiścakāra nāgadrahadraṅge*'.

King Padmasiṁha.[30] Kṣema, the youngest son of Yogarāja succeeded to his father's post at Citrakūṭa by the favour of King Jaitrasiṁha.[31] One of his sons Madana succeeded to the same post at Citrakūṭa through the favour of King Samarasiṁha.[32] The post of talarakṣa or talāra was the post of a police superintendent.[33] Nāgahrda (Nāgdā) and Citrakūṭa (Chittaurgarh, the capital town) being the two large towns of Mewar in this period, the talarakṣas of these settlements would have been police superintendents. The presence of police superintendents in turn assumes the existence of a full-fledged police department by the end of the thirteenth century. The fact that police officials are not mentioned in the early records does not necessarily indicate that they did not exist. However, their frequent mention in the thirteenth century may suggest the growing importance of the office. Possibly there was informal policing by the local communities in their respective localities in certain areas in previous times. The chiravā inscription speaks of Uddhāraṇa of the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family who had gained a reputation for policing the locality of Nāgdā prior to his official appointment as Talarakṣa of Nāgdā. If talarakṣa refers to the superintendent of police, then Uddhāraṇa was promoted to a higher rank in recognition of his service. The growing importance of the department of police in the thirteenth century was apparently caused by the growing congestion of these centres due to the ongoing process of urbanization, commercial transactions and transits, and finally, the increasing political importance of towns like Nāgdā and Citrakūṭa. The importance of a talarakṣa in Mewar might not

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30. <u>Ibid</u>., v.12.

31. <u>Ibid</u>., v.22.

32. <u>Ibid</u>., v.30.

33. <u>Lekhapaddhati</u> refers to the talāras, the deśatalāras and the grāmatalāras, translated as Kotwāls, police superintendents and foujdārs respectively, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.8.

have been confined to the general administration of the local law and order, but might have extended to such specific functions as supervision and protection of the *hiṇḍīpakas* (touring revenue officials), officers-in-charge of toll taxes, and *volāpakas* (in-charge of the militiamen, accompanying merchants on their journeys).[34] It is obvious that the state had to provide protection to those administrative and economic activities which were vital for its functioning and growth.

It is evident from the Chiravā inscription that just like the post of the mahāmātya/mukhyamantrī, the office of talarakṣaka had also become hereditary by the thirteenth century.

Revenue Officials:

The growth of the governmental department of revenue in this period is evident from the appearance of a number of revenue officials with new designations in the contemporary records. The process itself indicates a growing revenue-resource base of the state as well as better mobilization. It is significant that the *akṣapāṭalika* (the chief accountant) no longer figured as importantly in the Guhila records between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries as he did in the tenth century. Instead, a hierarchy of revenue officials appears.

The Bhāṇḍāgārika or bhāṇḍārī, treasurer, figures for the first time in the fifteenth century, and with a frequency which leaves no doubt that this category of officials occupied the highest rank in the revenue department. The rise of the bhāṇḍārīs as state revenue officials over the former akṣapāṭalikas speaks for the expansion of state control over resources and need for further professionals and specialists as personnel in the revenue department. None could fit the bill better than the local, rich Jain merchant families who were well-educated too.

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34. Ibid., pp.8 & 101.

The Śriṅgār Chāvanrī inscription of A.D. 1448 refers to the family of the bhāṇḍarīs of Rāṇā Kumbha in the context of building of a temple for Śrī Śāntinātha.[35] The list is as follows: bhāṇḍārī Śrī Velaka, son of Sāhkolā, and Velaka's sons, bhāṇḍarī Mudharāja, bhāṇḍārī Dhanarāja, and bhāṇḍārī Kurapāla.[36] The genealogical list of this family from Chittaur is also provided by Śatruñjaya inscription of A.D. 1532 and a Jain text *Śatruñjaya tīrthoddhara*.[37] The genealogical list provided by the Śriṅgār-Chāvanrī inscription proves that like the many others the office of royal treasurer was hereditary, strengthening our suggestion once again that the growth of the royal power ran parallel to the delegation of authority to groups. Hereditary succession ensured smooth succession of personnel irrespective of a change of rulers at the centre. Bhāṇḍārī Velaka, the chief treasurer, seems to have been assisted by his three sons. They are likely to have functioned as assistant treasurers under the supervision of the chief bhāṇḍārī. There also seems to have been a hierarchy of bhāṇḍārīs according to their areas of jurisdiction. The Abu inscription of A.D. 1449 refers to four *phadyun* (an unit of currency) due to one Śrī Viśiṣṭi Bhāṇḍārī:[38] Śrī Viśiṣṭi was a local level bhandari at Abu. In contrast, the term *Kośvyapārina* (the official incharge of transactions of the kośa or treasury) is used for the bhāṇḍārī Śrī Velaka in the Śriṅgār Chāvanrī inscription.[39] Another designation, Rājadvārika-Bhāṇḍārī, apparently used for a category of Bhāṇḍārīs, figures in contemporary sources such as the Pṛithvīcandra carita of

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35. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.410.

36. Ibid., ll.1-2.

37. Cited in MK, op. cit., p.163.

38. op. cit., ll.13-14...

39. op. cit., ll.2-3.

Māṇikyacandra Sūri (A.D. 1411).[40]

Dasharath Sharma suggests a slight distinction between a bhāṇḍārī and a koṭhārī in terms of the different commodities supervised by them.[41] Unfortunately, he does not specify the commodities. `All the Rajput states had a koshṭapati who was responsible for treasure. The term continued till Jagat Singh of Mewar (1688-92). He was required to maintain the records of income and expenditure of the state. Soon after, due to Mughal impact the name was changed from Koshtapati to Khazanchi.'[42] However, the fifteenth century records from Mewar refer only to the bhāṇḍārīs and not to the koṭhārīs.

It is evident from the contemporary texts from Rajasthan such as *Pṛithvīcandra carita*[43] that the Śrīkarana and the Vyāyagarana were important functionaries in the income and expenditure sections of the central revenue department respectively.

The Delwara inscription of A.D. 1434 refers to four taṅkās due to a Selāhathī (official connected with the treasury and the accounts) from the local Maṇḍapikās.[44] This record testifies to the duty of a selāhata/selāhathī who was in charge of the commercial dues from the local custom-houses.

40. Ibid.; Also see D. Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, op. cit., p.245. Kanhaḍadeprabandha lists Koṭhārī (Koṣṭhagārika) instead of Bhāṇḍārī, in the sense of the chief treasurer.

41. D. Sharma, RTA, p.705. `Koṭhārī was an officer with duties similar to those of bhāṇḍāgārika or bhāṇḍārī, the only distinction between the two perhaps being that they stored two different sorts of commodities'; Ibid., f.n.1, *`Bhāṇ dām koṭhārī jeu, purāi varau rālaguṇi teu'*.

42. G.C. Sharma, op. cit., p.20. Also see G.H. Ojha, URI, Vol.II, p.645.

43. MK, op. cit., p.163.

44. Ibid., p.370, 1.10.

The Delwara inscription of A.D. 1434 and the Abu inscription of A.D. 1449 refers to another official by the name of Mahan Bhoja, in connection with the royal grants from the local *maṇḍapikās* and the governmental exemptions to the pilgrims from a number of essential levies.[45] Mahan an equivalent of Mahantak, was an accountant in the department of revenue. Both the records indicate his important official status in the revenue department. Thus, it seems that accountants represented the revenue department at the various important localities. It is also possible that just like the Ṭāmṭaraḍa and the Bhāṇḍārī families of Nāgahrda and Chittaurgarh respectively, Bhoja, perhaps a influential member of the local society at Abu, or Delwara (near Udaipur) and Dośī Ramana of Abu were incorporated into the administrative apparatus.

The Sūtradhāras:

Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1274 of King Samarasiṁha was engraved by Sajjana.[46] Sajjana is described as a *śilpī* (craftsman), employed by the royal court. From his name, it is difficult to ascertain his social background. The Achaleśvara inscription of A.D. 1285 was engraved by sūtradhāra Karmasiṁha.[47] This name indicates a Rajput background. The fact that some of the kṣatriya families from Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were taking to the non-traditional professions in the early medieval period is evident from the case of a kṣatriya sūtradhāra, son of a

45. op. cit., 1.12.

46. op. cit., last verse. `Sajjaneva samutkīrṇa praśastih Śilpīnāmuna'.

47. op. cit., v.62. `*Utkīrṇa Karmasiṁhana sutradhārena*'.

learned kṣatriya[48] and that of a kṣatriya vaṇik.[49] However, both the cases of the sutradhāra Karmasiṁha from Mewar and kṣatriya sūtradhāra from Jodhpur suggest that the profession of architect had attained the status of a skilled profession, practised by people of different social origins. Therefore, the profession of an architect had not crystallized into a separate caste, at least until the thirteenth century in Mewar.

The Chittaurgarh stone inscription of Rāṇā Mokal of A.D. 1428 records the name of the architects appointed by the royal court to repair the Samaddhiśvara temple, and the artisans who engraved the stone inscription. The architect is described along with his genealogy. He was Manā, the son of Vījala[50] He bears titles of both Śilpī and sūtradhāra.[51] The inscription was written on the stone by Vīsala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Vīsa, also a son of Manā, and is perhaps identical with Vīsala.[52] The other important architect in the royal court during Mokal's reign was Phanā. The śriṅgiriṣi inscription was engraved by sūtradhāra Phanā, son of Hāḍā. He is described as *Sūtradhāraguruṇā*, the master of the sūtradhāras, and was fully conversant with literary

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48. Mandkila Tal inscription from Jodhpur of A.D. 956, EI, Vol. XXXIV, pp.77 ff.

49. An inscription of the period of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras from Doab, Uttar Pradesh, of the tenth century, EI, Vol. XIX, pp.52-4.

50. op. cit., v.4. According to Shyamaldas's text, he was the son of Vidyādhara, Vir Vinod I, op. cit., Appendix Lekhasaṁgraha.

51. Chittaurgarh stone Inscription of Mokala, ibid., v.4 of the last 5 verses, *'Vī [jalasya] sutah śilpī Manākhyah sūtradhārakah 11.'*

52. Ibid. *'Manākhyah sūtradhārakah 1 tasyātmajana Vīsena prasástimutkṛitā 11 4 11 rucirakṣaramutkīrṇa prasásti-riya mujvala, lilekha vīsalah śilpī samadhīśaprasādat-tah 11 5 11'*

works on architecture.[53] Thus, by the early fifteenth century a few select families of artisans came to be patronized by the royal court. They not only supplied the architects for the royal constructions, but also seem to have mobilized the chief artisans from their own families.

The increasing number of towns, and building of the military, civil and religious movements, undertaken by Rāṇā Kumbha gave rise to a select band of court artisans and architects. The following is a brief inscriptional list of the prominent structures other than temples in Kumbha's reign, providing an idea of the range of military architectural projects.

(1) Chittaurgarh Kīrttistambha inscription of A.D. 1453 commorating the construction of Kīrttistambha by Rāṇā Kumbha and a genealogy of the Guhila Kings.[54]

(2) Chittaurgarh Kīrttistambha inscription of A.D. 1450 recording the construction of a new gate at Chittaurgarh fort.[55]

(3) Chittaurgarh Kīrttistambha inscription of A.D. 1452 recording the date of the construction of the defensive ramparts around the fortress of Chittaurgarh.[56]

(4) Chittaurgarh Kīrttistambha inscription of A.D. 1458 recording the date of the construction of the fortress of

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53. op. cit., v.29. *'Utkīrṇasī (khi) lasūtradhāragurunā seyam praśastih śubha likhyate [na] phanābhidhena [su] dhiya Hāḍātmajenamuna [1*] sāhityadikaś[ilpī] śāstravilāsatapa thoḍina sādhunā Śrī Nārāyaṇa sevakena nṛipateh Śrī Mokalasyajnāya'll*

54. D.R. Bhandarkar's List No.813, (Appendix to EI, XIX-XXIII). Also see PRAS, WC, 1903-4, p.56.

55. D.R. Bhandarkar, ibid., No.802, G.H. Ojha, Rājasthan Kī Itihāsa, vol.II, op. cit., pp.622-26, footnote no.5.

56. D.R. Bhandarkar, ibid., No.806.

Kumbhamerū (Kumbhalgarh).[57] The extensive size of the Kumbhalgarh fort is a definite indicator of the degree of the involvement of the best artisans and architects of Mewar in royal projects in the fifteenth century.

If the architects contributed to the legitimation of the Guhila state through the building of royal monuments in this period, a select band of the local architects employed by the royal court evidently grew in career through the royal patronage. For instance, unlike Vījala, his son Manā bears the titles of both śilpī and sūtradhāra. Similarly unlike Hāḍā, his son Phanā bears the title of *sūtradhāragu-runā*.

Apart from the names mentioned above, we also get to know about other contemporary sūtradhāras, such as sūtradhā-ra Jaitā and his sons Sūtradhāras Nāpā, Puñja, Pomā, Bhūmī and Cuthī - architects of Kīrttistambha at Chittaurgarh (Kīrttistambha Inscription of A.D. 1453),[58] and sūtradhāra Mandana, the famous architect of the Kumbhalgarh fort. He is likely to have designed the fort of Achalgarh, as evident from the extent of his research-work on the fort-constructions in prāsāda-mandana, a part of his famous work, Rājav-allabhamandana. He seems to have trained some of the local, junior architects and artisans in carrying out the massive programme of fortifications and re-fortifications.[59] His work Rājavallabha (famously known as Rājavallabhamandana) also contains instructions for the constructions of horse and elephant stables, indicating increased military require-ments of the state in the fifteenth century.[60] The fact

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57. D.R. Bhandarkar, ibid., No.820, Ojha, Rājāsthan Kī Itihāsa, Vol.II, op. cit., p.623, footnote no.1.

58. op. cit.

59. See next Section: Military Apparatus.

60. Prāsādamandana and Rājavallabhamandanam, Calcutta San skrit series No.32, Calcutta, 1948, Ch.9, pp.97-98, vv.24-29.

that Mandana too rose in career in the employment of the state is evident from his clear declaration that he served king Kumbha of Medapāṭa.[61] His son, Isara continued to be in the service of the state as he was the chief architect of Rāmakuṇḍa and Rāmasvāmī temple at zawar.[62]

Revenue:

The increasing list of taxes in the Guhila records of the fifteenth century to point better organization of revenue. It is also significant that the items of taxation change from an earlier period.

The Land-Tax: Bhāga-Bhoga

The largest portion of the state revenue was undoubtedly the land tax, generally termed *bhāga-bhoga* in contemporary sources. Bhāga was the fixed land tax or the state's share of the agricultural produce; and Bhoga, the customary presents of articles like fruits, milk, vegetables, etc., including the provisions of lodging, bedding, etc. to the king, his officials, and the royal army.[63] In Mewar, an idea of the extent and scale of land-revenue organization can perhaps be best gleaned from an excellent contemporary source, Mandan's Rājavallabha. Mandana describes in detail, the unit of land measurement and system of calculation for working out the area of various plots. The tenth chapter of the Rājavallabhamandana is devoted to the methods of land measurement as well as designs for proper marking of

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61. Ibid., ch.14, p.127, v.43, *'Śrī Medapāṭe mopakumbhakarṇastād amghpirājīvaparagasevī sa Mandanākhyobhūvī sūtradhāroste noddhṛto bhūpati vallabhoayam'*.

62. Ramābāī's Zawar stone inscription of A.D. 1490, op. cit., ll.39-40, *'Kṣetrakāsūtradhārasya putro Mandana ātmavan ll Sūtradhāra Mandanasuta Isara e Kāmāthanuviracitam devīdāsa pratikāritā ll'*.

63. Dasharath Sharma opines that Bhoga, a technical word, went almost invariably with the bhāga. See RTA, op. cit., p.325.

plots.[64]

A square or a rectangular plot was encircled by a rope with the help of posts. The entire encircled rope was then measured either by a hand or a stick, made of *rakta-chandan* or *mahuā*, or bamboo/gold/silver/copper. This measuring scale had different yardsticks for small, middle and large measurements. For instance, to measure the area of a village or town, the large yardstick was used. It is significant to note that most of the contemporary royal land charters contain the expression *grāmoyam svasīmāparyātam* (upto the boundaries of the village).[65] The repetitive reference to this expression also supports the fact that each of the villages was being assessed meticulously. A picture of a measuring scale is inscribed on Kīrttistambha, Chittaurgarh fort. It measures approximately twentytwo and a half inches.[66] It is first divided into eight units, the eight into three each, and finally these three into four each. Thus there is a total of ninety-six divisions.[67]

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64. op. cit., pp.100-103, verses 2, 3, 7 and 18. '*Vyāsena dairghye-guṇite yadaikyam tat Konākṣetrasya phalam pradiṣṭam 1 pinde tadaikyam punareva tadyam khatasya bhitteścayanādisilhih 11 Kare Karāghne ca Karāpramānam Karaṁgulinām guṇāmeva saṅkhyā 1 syādaṁgulrirangulatadi-taiśca labdham phalam jainvibhajitena 11 Vritakṣetre paridhiguṇitavyāspadah phalam tat Kṣunnam vedairupari paritāh Kandaksyaiva jalam 1 golasyaivam tadapi ca phalam priṣthajam vyāsaṣadābhirbhaktam bhavati niyatam golagarbhe ghanākhyam Ṣaṣṭo Vibhāgopi [ca?] dairghyak-sya tasaiva ṣaḍbhāgayuto Vidheyah 1 bahupramāṇam Kathitam Kalāstre Kṣetre tathānyāni vicārya kuryāt 11*'.

65. See for instance, charters to the brāhmaṇas, in the following chapter. Also see Mala copperplates of Guhila Vīrasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1287, op. cit. It records the specific boundaries of both the plot and house donated to a brāhmaṇa in village Mala.ll.10-12 '*Mālagrāme bhūmihal sārdavahalaikasya bhūmiḥ 1 griham I agrevāṭaka pache vāḍakakhala sahitametata sāsanodakapūrvam dharmeṇa sampradattam.*'

66. MK, op. cit., p.161.

67. Ibid.

Bhāga was generally at the rate of one-sixth or more of the produce.[68] Unfortunately, none of the contemporary inscriptional records from Mewar refers to the amount of land-tax charged.[69] But an earlier reference to the imposition of *lāṭa* in the Saraneśvara inscription of A.D. 953,[70] has led to speculation among scholars like Somani that the rate of *bhāga* was high in medieval Mewar as *lāṭa* in medieval Rajasthan meant one-third or even half of the produce.[71] It is necessary to point out that Somani identifies *lāṭa* with *Bhoga*,[72] even though *bhoga* was an additional cess in kind occasionally imposed by the state. Since Somani identifies *lata* with *bhoga*, an occasional cess and not the usual land-tax (bhāga), his observations that rate of land-tax was high in medieval Mewar is not very convincing, especially in the absence of contemporary evidences indicating high rates of tax.

The regular collection of revenue-dues is clearly evident from the Kadia village (Udaipur) inscription of A.D. 1443 of the reign of Kumbha as well as Ekaliṅgajī temple *dakṣiṇa dvāra praśasti* of A.D. 1488. The state-revenue dues were termed as the rājakara. The Kadia village inscription refers to the rājakara in the village of śrīvājā√ī that

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68. Idem, Lectures on Rajput History and Culture, Delhi, 1970, p.117.

69. Dasharath Sharma finds it difficult to arrive at the actual figures of land-tax in the Pratīhāra empire. See RTA, op. cit., p.324.

70. op. cit., v.9, '*drammamekam karī daddvatturago rūpa Kadvayam drammārdhaviṁśakam śriṅgī lāṭahaṭṭe tulāḍa-kau*'.

71. MK, op. cit. p.170.

72. Ibid., p.170.

extended upto its boundaries.[73] The Ekaliṅgajī temple inscription of A.D. 1488 of the reign of Rāṇā Rāimalla instructs in the Mewari dialect, that the temples, brāhmaṇas and bhāṭs of village Varṣasana are exempt from all royal taxes.[74]

None of the contemporary Guhila inscriptions directly mention the gopacara or gocara (grazing tax), unlike the twelfth century incriptional records of the Paramāras of Abu.[75] However, its prevalence in the Guhila revenue system of our period may not be entirely ruled out. James Tod reports the medieval custom of occasional payment of Khar-lakhar (supplying wood, forage, milk, flour, etc., by individuals to the royal army when the princes of Mewar were on the battlefield).[76] It is obvious that these occasional levies were temporary and find no place in the Guhila inscriptions of our period.

<u>Commercial</u> <u>Revenue</u>:

Maṇḍapikās and Māṇḍvī Tax:

The Chittaurgarh inscription of the Guhila queen Jayatalladevī (A.D. 1278) records royal cash donations from a number of *maṇḍapikās* to a Jain Vasahī.[77] The list is as follows: twentyfour *dramma* coins from the maṇḍapikā at

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73. <u>Kadia Village Inscription</u>, H.B. Sharda, <u>MK</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.173-74, No.5; ARRM, 1932, p.4, No.6; <u>MK</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.389, v.26, `tasmai dadau hāṭaka paṭṭavāsah svestarthadeharānvita gadalekam 1 Śrīvājāvī grāmamapārasīmāmsaṁkalpe tam *rājakaraih praṇitam*'.

74. <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., conluding part is in Mewari dialect. `Deva brāhmaṇa bhāṭa nājkā varṣasana grāma pūrvajane apanidedhi tina samasta *rājakara* mukarar kidhā'.

75. Hathal copper-plate Inscription of the reign of Paramāra Dhārāvarsha of A.D. 1180, CII, Vol.VII, Pt.2, pp.245-47, ll.10-12.

76. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.118.

77. <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., ll.9-12. Also see Vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: Guhilas and the Jains.

citrakūṭa-talahaṭṭī (custom house at the foothill of Chittaurgarh), thirty-six *dramma* coins from Khohar *maṇḍapikā* (near Chittaurgarh) and thirtyfour dramma coins from Sajjanapura maṇḍapikā (near Chittaurgarh) besides other donations.[78] But the crucial problem is the precise relationship between local commercial institutions such as the *maṇḍapikās* and the royal dynasty, as the Guhilas operated from Chittaurgarh for the first time in the mid-thirteenth century. Somani finds it difficult to define the precise nature of a *maṇḍapikā*, as to whether it was an office/governmental institution or a semi-official institution.[79] Dasarath Sharma defines it as a civic institution where a śulkadhyakṣa (collector of the custom duties) set up his śulkaśālā near the chief gate of the city.[80]

Regarding the relationship between the *maṇḍapikās* and the state, B.D. Chattopadhyaya argues that although these commercial institutions might have been controlled by local merchant associations or corporate bodies, the concerned political powers ensured their regular share of the commercial revenue by retaining control over the *maṇḍapikās*.[81] Such royal control represented the governmental mechanism of acquisition of the cash and the kind from the local *maṇḍapikās*.[82]

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78. op. cit.

79. MK, op. cit., p.174.

80. RTA, op. cit., p.353.

81. The Making of Early Medieval India, op. cit., p.94.

82. To quote B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'It would appear from the social composition of those who regulated mārgādāya and maṇḍapikādāya that some form of commercial revenue farming was gradually coming into existence. This was true not only of early medieval Rajasthan but of other regions as well. The autonomous character of such bodies is suggested by the phenomenon that local merchant associations or other corporate bodies could impose levies on local communities and on the items of

However, the thirteenth century Guhila record of queen Jayatalladevī donating *dramma* coins from the local *Maṇḍapikās* to a Jain Vasahī, (noted above) does not specify the taxes collected at the *maṇḍapikās*. It is only in the fifteenth century that Guhila records specify all the taxes collected at the *maṇḍapikās*. This indicates more meticulous assessment by the state and hence, better resource mobilization. The Delwara inscription of A.D. 1434 of Rāṇā Kumbha records royal donations of a total of fourteen *taṅkās* (silver coins) from the local maṇḍapikā and proceeds of the sale of various items for the worship of Dharmacintāmaṇi. The list is as follows: five *taṅkās* from *māṇḍavī* (tax from Maṇḍapikā), four *taṅkās* from *Māpā* (octroi), two *taṅkās* from *Mānāheḍavāṭa* (remains unidentified by H.B. Sharda, the editor of the inscription) two *taṅkās* from *Khārīvāṭa* (salt tax) and one *taṅkā* from *Pāṭasutrīya* (cloth tax) at Delwara.[83] It is evident from this record that the customs-duty collected at a *maṇḍapikā* came to be known as *mandavi*. In other words, everybody entering an exchange centre with goods for sale had first to pay māṇḍavī at the local *maṇḍapikās*. All these cash donations were made from the royal

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exchange. To an extent this may have been so, but the phenomenon surely needs a more satisfactory explanation, and in a political situation where 'bureaucracy' lacked a distinctly identifiable character, one way of looking at it would be consider it a mechanism of control over the acquisition of cash and kind and over their redistribution, assuring at the same time the concerned political powers of a regular return in the form of a share. Of course, this would not apply to ad hoc levies intended as contributions to religious institutions, but then terms such as mārgādāya or maṇḍapikās cannot be conceived in terms of ad hoc levies alone', in his 'Markets and Merchants in early Medieval Rajasthan', Ibid., p.116.

83. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., p.170. The text of the inscription is also published in ācārya Vijayadharmasūri's booklet, Devakulapāṭak. However, Sharda does not identify the tax on the item or the institution called Mānāheḍavāṭa.

share of the cash collected as taxes from the *maṇḍapikās*.

By the thirteenth century the Guhila state controlled both the major trade routes passing through Mewar hills, the Abu-Sirohi route and Chittaurgarh in its western, north-western and eastern frontiers respectively. Hence, the amount of the commercial transaction is a matter of conjecture which increasingly contributed towards the formation particularly of the tax called *Māpā* (octroi or toll). The major commercial items of local trade seem to have been salt (an item of transit-trade possibly coming from Sambhar region, Ajmer) and cloth which contributed separately to the state exchequer. This speaks for some state control over their sale. In fact, if cloth and salt were being taxed at Delwara near Udaipur then their passage all along the Abu-Sirohi route would have been similarly taxed. Hence, taxes such as *māpā* (octroi), *Māṇḍavī* (tax from *maṇḍapikā*), *Khārī-vāṭa* and *pāṭasutrīya* were more or less universally collected throughout the state in the fifteenth century.

The case seems to be different with the security tax. The state levied a security tax apparently in places of the pilgrimage outside Mewar. The Abu inscription of A.D. 1449 announces exemption of such levies as valamī and rāṣ (kha) valī (tax on policing) for the pilgrims visiting Jain temples at Delwara in Arbudacala.[84]

Finally, the pilgrimage tax seems to have been another major source of state revenue. This levy is also attested by the above Abu record, which announces exemption of a

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84. op. cit., 2-9, `*Mahārānā Śrī Kumbhakaraṇ Vijayrājye Śrī Arbudacale delvārā grāme Vimal Vasahī Śrī Ādinātha, Tejavasahī Śrī Nemināthа tathā bije śrāvya (va) ke dehāre dāna muṇdika valamī rāsavalī... jyātrī āvī ... iko koi māṅgvā nā lahi*' (Mewarī dialect) The expression `*dānavolāpanādi viṣaye*' in *Lekhapaddhati* has been translated as a tax collected by officer-in-charge who led `Volāpaka' men accompanying merchants in their journeys for the safety of their goods. See *Lekhapaddhati*, op. cit., p.8 and also glossary.

number of taxes including the one on pilgrimage (ācandrāk).[85] The pilgrimage-tax is likely to have been utilized in the upkeep of the pilgrimage centres, specially on occasions of festivals. In addition, the ad-hoc levies for the expenditures of the daily or special rituals at the temples in many pilgrimage centres was a common practice. The evidence is that of the Delwara inscription of A.D. 1434 recording the imposition of the fourteen *taṅkās* on travellers (entering Delwara every day) for the worship of Śrī Dharmacintāmaṇi at Delwara, Abu.[86] The early instance of such ad hoc impositions can best be seen in the case of the Saraneśvara temple at Āhaḍa.[87] The practice extended to Jain temples by the fifteenth century indicating Guhila control over a larger commercial network.[88] More importantly, ad hoc levies for the upkeep of the temple complexes came to be probably identified as the royal share (grāsa) by the fifteenth century. In other words, it was looked upon as a legitimate right of the state to impose such occasional levies as its own share.[89]

Local Level Administration

Instead of the pañcakulas, thirteenth to fifteenth century records testify to the continuing importance of

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85. Ibid., *jiko jyātrī āvī tihirū Sarvāmu kābu jyātrā Samāndhi ācandrāk lāgī pāyak iko koi māṅgvā nā lahi'* (Mewari dialect).

86. op. cit., ll.15-16. '*Evam Karai taṅkā 14 Śrī Dharmacintāmaṇipūjā nimitta sā sāraṅgi samastasadhi lāgukidhu'* (Mewari dialect).

87. Saraneśvara temple Inscription of A.D. 953, op. cit., vv.12-18.

88. Vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: The Guhilas and the Jains.

89. Delwara inscription of A.D. 1434, op. cit., ll.17-18, '*Ee grāsu jiko lopoi tehārhim rāṇāśrī Hammīra rāṇā Śriseta rāṇā Śrilāṣā rā·Mokal rāṇā śrī Kumbharṇāṇī ana chəi'*. (Mewari dialect)

rural people in village administration. There is a possibility that the pañcakulas came to function at bigger villages rather than at each and every rural settlement by this period. The Kadmal copper-plate charter of Tejasiṁha of A.D. 1259 records the names of the individual witnesses to the royal grants as follows: Sāho Vijiyausa, brāhmaṇa Golou Nālau, mantrī Chanḍu, Vaṇika Vairāu Villanu, Cāhamāṇa Vāghāraṇasiṁha, Meharans (mahattaras), Vaijāu cāvāh, Morou, Vaneu, dhābhrā, and Kāndhāla.[90] The very fact that each of the witnesses is named speaks for their status in the village Kadmal (25 km north-west of Udaipur). Secondly, the witnesses evidently represented most of the prominent social groups such as the merchants, brāhmaṇas, Rajputs, and *mahattaras*. It is very much possible that all these witnesses were members of a village-level administrative organization. B.D. Chattopadhyaya observes: `The existence of a village-level organization, exercising certain rights in the conduct of village affairs is attested by the consent given by mahājanas, the grāmīṇa and the janapada when a document specifying levies for a temple was drawn up'.[91] In fact, the increasing execution of the royal charters in the village in the Mewari dialect in the fifteenth century[92] should also be considered as an important indicator of taking the rural level society into serious consideration by the state-apparatus. It appears that the state was concerned about the incorporation of the rural-level residents as effectively as possible into the administrative-apparatus in which the elite residents in the local hierarchy seem to have played a significant role. However, the absence of a *Pañcakulika* in the thirteenth century Kadmal village need not

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90. Shodh Patrika, Vol.V, pt.3, op. cit., ll.7-10.

91. Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society, op. cit., p.77. The author makes this observation in the context of early medieavl villages in Southeastern Marwar (Rajasthan).

92. See the following section: The Administration and the Language.

necessarily indicate its absence in the contemporary bigger villages in the Southern Rajasthan. For instance, the term *pañcaśrī* figures in a royal charter of the Guhilas of Vagod in this period. The Mala copper plates of Vīrasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1287 recording the royal grant of one and a half *halas* of land and a house with enclosures at the village of Mala (about three miles from the village Baroda, district Dungarpur) specifically mentions that the writer of the record, Vikama (Vikrama), acted under the verbal orders of the pañcaśrī Vāvana.[93] The writer is also called a *pañca* while pañcaśrī is the title for Vāvana. Undoubtedly, Vāvana was the chief of the Pañcakulika while Vikama was one of the five members of the same local body. The village of Mala, close to the centre of power of the Guhilas of Vagod (Vāṭapadraka), seems to have emerged as a bigger settlement and had grown to become a node among the surrounding rural settlements.

The political significance of such local bodies was evidently immense since the writing of the royal charters had to be ordered by the chief of the *pañcakulikas*. Some other members of the *pañcakulika*, like Vikama, apparently a Kāyastha, had to discharge their administrative duty by writing the royal record. The execution of such royal grants continued to be the responsibility of the *pañcakulikas* in the major rural settlements. Even a Pañcakulika had to take into account the local notables as is evident from the list of the chief witnesses to the announcement of the royal grants. The fact is borne by the expression, *Kaḍū Vīsalaśabdena sākṣinah*, in the concluding sentence of the Mala copper plate.[94] It has been translated as Kaḍū Vīsala is one, on whose authority the names of the witnesses are

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93. op. cit., 11.38-39, '*Pañcaśrī Vāvanaśabdena śāsanamidam pañcavīkamenā likhitam*'.

94. Mala Copper-Plates, op. cit., 1.39.

recorded.[95] It is significant that Kaḍū or Kaḍūā, is one of the two sects of the Kunbī tribe.[96] Thus, Kaḍūvīsala might have been the chief representative of the local Kunbī tribe which might have formed a major portion of the local population. He is likely to have been associated with the local ruling elite and thus a linkage between the Kunbī villages and the Guhila state of Vagod. All the above instances that prove the importance of the local bodies in village administration also suggests dispersal of the royal authority.

The Administration and the Language

The study of the administrative apparatus in the context of state formation remains incomplete without a survey of the official language of communication between the state and the populace. Although Sanskrit remained the predominant language in the official charters, terms from the Mewari dialect appear in the official inscriptions by the late twelfth century. By the fifteenth century, Mewar had official charters in the full-fledged Mewari dialect, particularly the section on business transactions. The use of local dialects instead of the courtly Sanskrit in official charters is an indicator of both the attempt of the state to reach as many social groups as possible at the local society beyond the elite strata, and consequently, the incorporation of the influential local elements into the political structure. Consequently, official charters in full-fledged Mewari dialect of the fifteenth century are a pointer to the political compulsion by which the state was being forced to use the vernacular language and not the formal language. This further strengthens our assumption that the Guhila state grew more by accommodation than by centralization.

Military Apparatus:

The Guhila state had to administer a larger territory

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95. Ibid., p.192.

96. Ibid., p.196, fn no.5.

between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries with a varied socio-cultural profile. It also bordered on a number of powerful neighbours. It is significant that the thirteenth century Guhila inscriptions refer to the neighbouring powers for the first time. The other important development is the beginnings of Guhila references to a number of forts. The transfer of the capital to Chittaurgarh brought with it the additional problems of defending the new capital town, a strategic fortress, highly coveted by the neighbouring powers.

The political and military significance of the new capital is evident from such references such as '*durganuttara citrakūṭa nagarasthah*' and '*śrīcitrakūṭadurge*' in the Chiravā inscription of the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family of Nāgdā[97] and '*Śrī Citrakūṭamahādurga*' in a Jain inscription of Tejasiṁha's reign from Chittaur.[98] To defend Chittaurgarh, a chain of fortresses seem to have been contested by the Guhilas in the thirteenth century. The foothill of Chittaurgarh seems to have been the scene of a number of battles. The location of Chittaurgarh on a major route linking northern India with central and western India made it vulnerable to attacks specially from the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth century. The fact is evident from the expression '*turuṣkārṇavat*' used for Tejasiṁha in the Achalgarh inscription.[99] The Guhila reference to the '*turuṣkas*' (turks) figures for the first time in the thirteenth century record. The Chiravā inscription refers to the death of Ratna (a member of the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family) and Bhīmasiṁha (one of King Jaitrasiṁha's minister) in a battle at the foot (*talahaṭṭī*) of Chitaurgarh.[100] The fortress of Arthuna in Banswara seems to have been crucial in the defence of Chittaurgarh and the Mewar

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97. A.D. 1273, op. cit., vv.30 & 40.

98. A.D. 1267, op. cit., 1.1.

99. op. cit., v.46.

100. op. cit., v.26.

hills from the south (Paramāra attacks from Malwa in the thirteenth century). Madana, another member of Ṭāmṭaraḍa family, is eulogized for having proved his valour in the battlefield of Utthūnaka (Arthuna, district Banswara), while fighting with Pañcalagudikā Jaitramalla (Paramāra King Jayatuṅgideva of Malwa).[101] The fortress of Arthuna, evidently a Paramāra possession in the mid-thirtenth century, seems to have been wrested by the Guhilas from the Paramāras at this battle. This fortress must have been coveted by the Guhilas for a long time ever since they took over Chittaurgarh.

The former capital, the fortress of Āhaḍa along with Nāgdā continued to defend the Mewar hills in the thirteenth century. A Jain text, Śrāvakapraticurṇamaṇī, of late thirteenth century refers to Āhaḍa as '*Āghāṭamahādurga*', (the great fortress of Āghāṭa/Āhaḍa).[102] The stronghold of Nāgadrahapura is evident again from a thirteenth century reference to its destruction by the army of the Suratrāṇa, Illtutmish.[103] The battle with Sultan Illtutmish is stated to have been fought at Bhūtālā (village Untala, 12 miles from Nāgdā, near Udaipur).[104] Thus the hills of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa were no longer obstacles to invaders of Mewar. Yogarāja's (talarakṣaka of Nāgdā) four sons, Pamarāja, Mahendra, Champaka and Kṣema fought in the battle of Bhūtālā in which Pamarāja was killed.[105] To deal with the recurrent Caulukyan inroads from the south-west, the settlement of Koṭṭadaka was captured.[106] Koṭṭadaka, or Kotra in the Bhomat region,

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101. Ibid., pp.27-28.

102. vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: The Guhilas and the Jains.

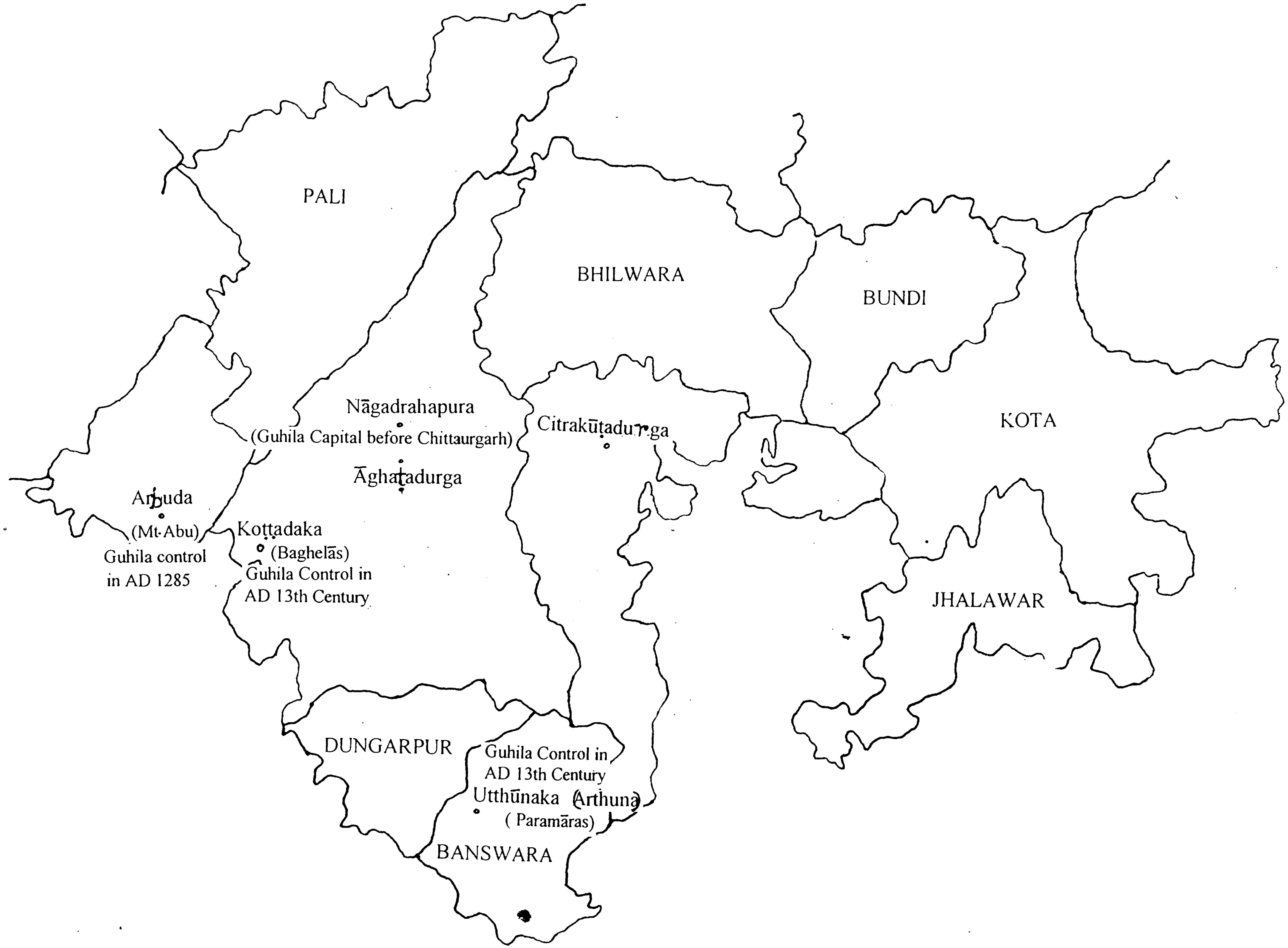
103. Chiravā inscription, op. cit., vv.15-16.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., v.19.

Guhila References to the Forts : AD 13th Century



is actually situated at the periphery of the Bhil country bordering Gujarat. Koṭṭadaka is likely to have been a Caulukyan possession in the mid-thirteenth century. With King Jaitrasiṁha's capture of Koṭṭadaka in his fight against Rāṇā Tribhuvana (successor of Bhīmadeva II in Gujarat),[107] The Guhilas secured a front line fortress against the Caulukyas. To defend Mewar hills from the Caulukyan forces, it was equally important to control the Godwar region. Jaitrasiṁha is known to have uprooted the Nāḍol Cāhamānas, (*Naḍūlamulaṁkaṣabāhulakṣmī*).[108] Having secured the northern frontier through the fortress of Nāḍol, the Guhilas further blocked the Caulukya passage into Mewar from the north-west by conquering the hill fortress of Abu, a Caulukya possession. Samarasiṁha in Achalgarh inscription is eulogised as *Arbudo bijayate girirūcchairdevaṣu vitakulācalaratnam.*[109] The Guhila acquisition of Abu by the late thirteenth century secured the north-western boundary of Mewar. Abu controlled the trade-route of Abu-Palanpur gap, strategic for the movement of troops both from the Marwar, the north-western India and the Gujarat.

Military personnel in the thirteenth century continued to be the local Rajput chiefs. It is significant that the Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1460 describes Rāval Samarasiṁha, the last Guhila King of the thirteenth century, as the "jewel of all the sāmantas" (the chief *sāmanta*).[110] In view of the intensifying military activities of in the thirteenth century, the military significance of all the local "*sāmantas*" seems to be the foremost political factor in

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107. Ibid.

108. Achaleśvara inscription, op. cit., v.42.

109. Ibid., v.49.

110. 3rd Slab, op. cit., vv.160, 162, '*Rāval Samarasiṁhavarṇnāṁ 11 durge śrīcitrakūṭe, [Vilā]sati [nṛ]ipatau sarvasāmanta cuḍāratnapraddy otitāmcakravabhaditi matiṭṭ akpatham samprayāti*'.

referring to the "*sāmantas*" in the royal *praśastis*. The Achaleśvara inscription certainly hints at the military support coming from the *sāmantas* in the wake of the Caulukyan invasion in the reign of Guhila Sāmantasiṁhadeva, his abdication of the throne and his younger brother, Kumarasiṁha's succession following sāmantasiṁhadeva's clash with the local *sāmanatas*.[111] It seems true to some extent that the increasing military dimension of the Guhila state in this period was one of the chief causes of the induction of the non-Rajput social groups into the administrative apparatus as more and more Rajput chiefs were essential for the making of the military personnel in the thirteenth century. In fact, non-Rajput social groups such as the Jains also joined the Rajputs at the battle-fields from the fifteenth century onwards.

The territorial integration of Merwara (a hilly-forested tract in north-western Mewar) and the incorporation of its tribal population of the Medas (Mers), possibly took place in phases between the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century. The capture of the fortress of Chelvāṭa (Jilwara, Merwara tract) attributed to Rāṇā Hammīra,[112] and those of hilly fortresses of Vardhana (Badnor, Merwara) and Beratgarh (Merwara) to Rāṇā Lākhā[113] seems to have begun the process of annexation of Merwara. The annals of Mewar also credit Rāṇā Khetā with subjugation of moutaineers (Mers) of Merwara and its stronghold Beratgarh and the erection of the fortress of Badnor.[114] Control of the local fortresses of Merwara was essential to strengthen the royal grip over this

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111. op. cit., vv.36-37, '*Sāmantasiṁhanāmā Kamādhikasarvasundaraśarīrah ll bhūpalojani tasmādapṛtasāmantasarvasvah ll Khummāṇsantativiyogavilaksalakṣmīm senāmdṛṣṭavirahām Guhilānvayasya ll rājavantīm vasumatīmkarotkumārasiṁhastato ripugana napahṛtya bhūyah*'.

112. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi inscription, op. cit., v.4.

113. Kumbhalgarh 4th Slab, op. cit., v.212.

114. James Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.221.

newly acquired territory and its resources. Merwara was immensely important for the Guhila state. It was essential to command the fortresses of Merwara to defend Mewar against the sultanates of Nagaur and Gujarat. The fortresses of Merwara were to function as the frontier and Merwara could also function as a safe-retreat for the ruling family in the case of the fall of Chittaurgarh. The Merwara is defended naturally by the hills and the forests. Finally, the fortresses of Merwara could effectively function as a launching ground for the Guhila inroads into Nagaur, Ajmer and Śākambharī regions. In fact, Rāṇā Mokal's repeated references to the defeats of Firuz Shah (the sultan of Nagaur)[115] indicate some control of the Guhilas over the northern frontiers, facilitated by the fortresses of the Merwara tract.

Similarly, the claim of conquests of fortresses in eastern Mewar attributed to Rāṇā Khetā in the local annals of Mewar could be early Guhila attempts to control the local Hada fortresses. Eastern Mewar is referred to as "Hāḍāvatī" in the contemporary Guhila records. The fortresses of Manḍalgarh, Bambaoda, etc. could function as a second line of defence for Chittaurgarh, specially against inroads from the northeastern and Malwa fronts as well as the Bundi-Kota region. Finally, they could also function as the hinterland fortresses for Chittaurgarh in case the latter was seized. It is significant that Mokal is eulogised for having gained victory over the best of the forts, citrakūṭa (*rājahaṁsai-rāgamyastaddurggam citrakūṭo jayati*).[116]

Rāṇā Kumbha and the Building of Forts and Fortifications:

Augmentation of the military apparatus reached its zenith under Mahārāṇā Kumbha. Traditions narrate that Kumbha built thirtywo of the eightyfour fortresses con-

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115. Chittaurgarh Inscription of Mokal, op. cit., v.51; Śriṅgīriṣi Inscription of Mokal, op. cit., v.14.

116. Chittaurgarh inscription, Ibid., v.69.

structed for the defence of Mewar.[117] `He triumphed over the enemies of his race, fortified his country with strongholds, embellished it with temples, and with superstructure of her fame laid the foundations of his own.'[118] To defend Mewar, Kumbha took three precise steps. The first step was to annexe or re-assert Guhila control over the forts strategic to the defence of Chittaurgarh. The next step was to construct new fortresses or fortify old ones in the captured areas strategic to Mewar. The third programme was to fortify the existing fortresses in the core. This enabled the fifteenth century Guhila state to defend the newly integrated areas as well as the core and secure the frontiers. To enhance the existing military capacity, Kumbha also added structures to the leading fortresses of Mewar. Finally, to project Mewar as a military power and to muster additional resources, Kumbha embarked upon a career of military expansion. But the programme of expansion must have been accomplished in the second half of his reign, for the first three steps of defence listed above were the essential bases for his military career. Hence, the following discussion would unfold in three sections. The first section lists and discusses the forts captured/fortified by Kumbha, strategic to Mewar. The second and the final sections would deal with the forts and military structures entirely constructed/fortified by Kumbha and his claim of the conquest of the forts external to Mewar, respectively.

forts captured by Kumbha in the upper Banas plain, Vagod, Hāḍāvatī, Jhalawar, Godwar, etc. were:

(1) Manḍalgarh[119]: southern Bhīlwara district, (upper Banas plain).

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117. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., p.334. Also see Tod, Annals, vol.I, op. cit., p.289.

118. Tod, Annals, vol.I, Ibid., p.290.

119. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th Slab, op. cit., vv.263-64.

(2) Giripur[120]: Dungarpur, district Dungarpur (Vagod).

(3) Yāgpur,[121] referred also as Jājpur in Ekaliṅga temple *dakṣiṇadvāra praśasti*[122]: Jahazpur in north-eastern district Bhilwara (upper Banas plain).

(4) Vardhamānagiri[123]: Badnor in north-western district Bhilwara (a part of the Merwara country).

(5) Champāvatī[124]: Chapaneri in southern Ajmer district.

(6) Gārgarāṭa,[125] also referred as Gāgarana in the Ranakpur praśasti:[126] the fort of Gagraun near Jhalawar town in district Kota.

(7) Hāḍāvatī[127]: the fortresses of the eastern Mewar such as Bambaoda, etc., and the Bundi-Kota belt.

(8) Ṣaṭpura[128]: Khāṭkar or Khāṭu. This is possibly Khāṭgarh in the north-east of Bundi.

(9) Vṛindāvatī[129]: the fortress of Bundi, the capital of Hāḍāvatī (district Bundi).

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120. Ibid., v.266.

121. Ibid., v.253; Ekaliṅga dakṣiṇadvāra praśasti, op. cit., v.43.

122. Ibid., v.253.

123. Kumbhalgarh Praśasti, op. cit., v.254.

124. Ibid., v.258.

125. Ibid., v.259.

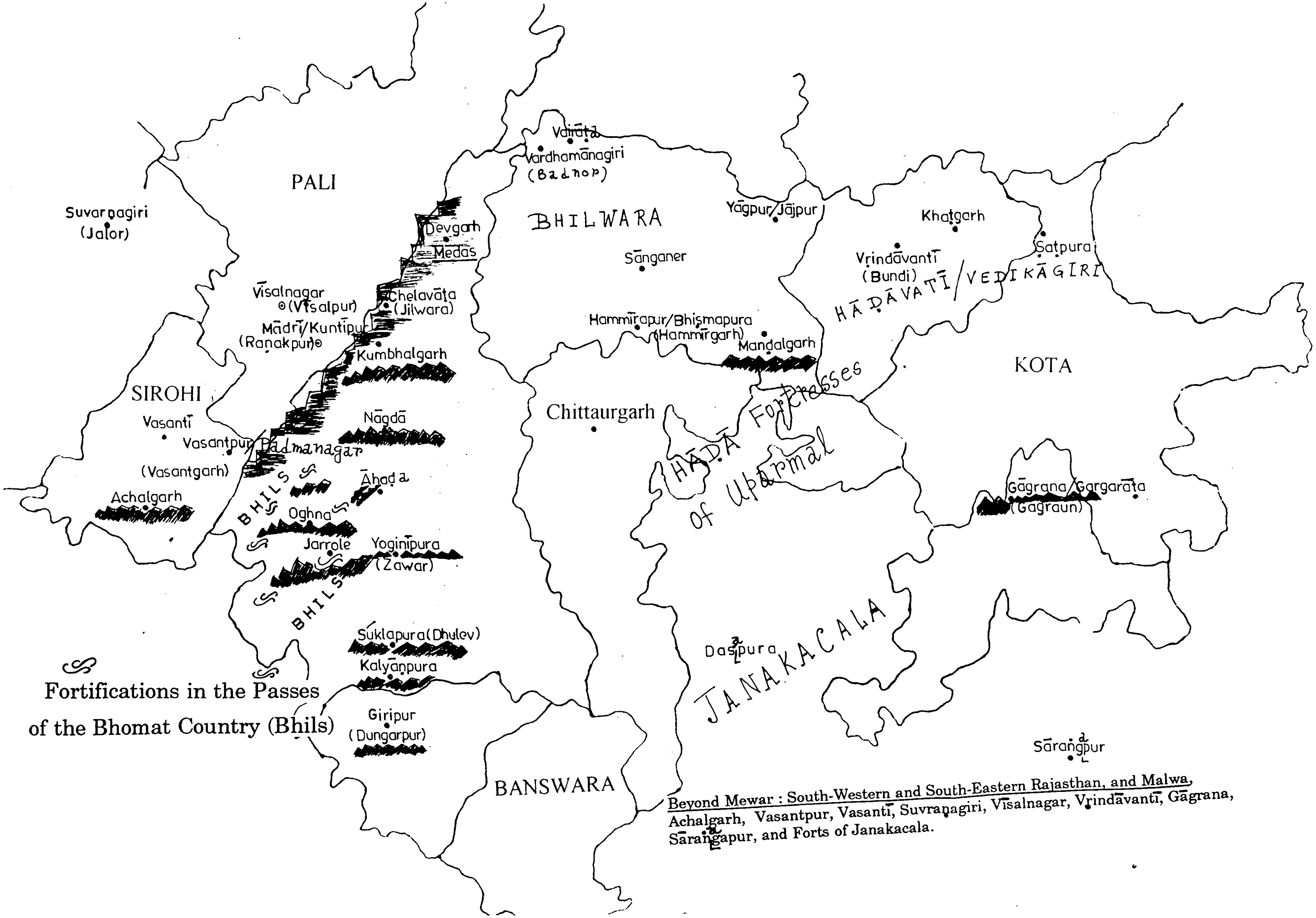
126. op. cit., 1.12.

127. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., v.264.

128. Ibid., v.264.

129. Ibid., v.264.

Mahārāṇā Kumbha and His Forts : A.D. 15th Century



(10) Vīsalampurī or Vīsalanagar:[130]: Bīsalpur in Godwar belt, district Pali.

Evidences from Kumbha's epigraphical records amply prove that Kumbha had to reassert the Guhila suzerainty in Hāḍāvatī by capturing Manḍalgarh and the surrounding Hāḍā fortresses. It is noted in a previous discussion[131] that the Guhilas had left Manḍalgarh to the Solaṅkīs and the remaining fortresses in the hands of the local Hāḍā chiefs. It has also been discussed that it was not easy for the Guhilas to annexe the Hāḍā fortresses of eastern Mewar. But it was militarily essential to create a chain of fortresses in eastern Mewar, and Kumbha not only secured Manḍalgarh in the Upper Banas plain, but also attempted to control the bigger fortresses of greater Hāḍāvatī such as Vṛindāvatī (Bundi), the capital-town of the Hāḍās, Khāṭgarh, and other fortresses in Bundi region. But the fortresses of Manḍalgarh and Hāḍāvatī could only defend Chittaurgarh in the immediate north and the north-east. To defend Chittaurgarh from the increasingly hostile Malwa in the south-east, it was essential to hold the formidable fort of Gagraun, strategically situated on a hill overlooking the Kali Sindh.

The strategic situation of Gagraun makes it clear that it held the key to Malwa for Mewar. Attempts to control Gagraun reflect the reality of Guhilas power. It seems that Guhila control over the second line of defence in eastern Mewar was not only tenuous, but the actual hold over Chittaurgarh was equally questionable if the fortresses of eastern Mewar fell to invaders. Hence, by extending the line of the defence towards Malwa, attempts were made to devise a possible mechanism of securing Chittaurgarh. It is significant that a much smaller power, the Khīchīs of Gagraun were indispensable for the Guhilas. The fort of

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130. Ibid., vv.264-65.

131. Ch.III Section: Linkages with the Hāḍā chiefs and the Solaṅkīs of Manḍalgarh.

Giripur (Dungarpur) could guard the passes to Mewar from an invading Gujarat army: it was militarily indispensable for the defence of Mewar. It was the capital-town of the Guhilas of Vāgod (Dungarpur-Banswara districts).

Besides Vagod, it was equally expedient to annexe Mount Abu to control trade routes. The Sirohi and Mount Abu belt commanded routes to Godwar, Jalor (Suvarṇagiri) and Marwar. Increasing hostilities from the sultanates of Gujarat and Jalor created compelling necessities to build the Guhila bastions and control the existing fortresses in the region of Mount Abu and Sirohi. Thus was captured Padmanagar; the fortress of Vasantpur or Vasantgarh, an early medieval stronghold of the Paramāras of Abu. It had possibly come under the control of the Devḍā Cāhamānas by the fifteen century. Kīrttistambha inscription states that Kumbha repopulated (possibly garrisoned it) Vasantapur (Vasantgarh) and built seven lakes near it in the vicinity of Anhalkuṇḍa of Vaśiṣṭa (increasing water supply for the army) in Sirohi.[132] To convert the Sirohi region into a military garrison, Kumbha built two more fortresses, Vasantī near the present town of Sirohi, and the Achalgarh near Mount Abu. 'He fortified the passes between the western frontier of Mewar and Abu and erected the fort of Vasanti near Sirohi'.[133]

__Achalgarh__:

The fort of Achalgarh was constructed in A.D. 1452. It is situated on a peak and seems to have been built within the ruined fortress of the ancient Paramāras of Abu (Candravatī). 'The upper fortress is attributed to Kumbha, but he probably only repaired this, the D'onjon of Achalgarh, which with the interior works, is of the most remote antiquity. There are the ruins of a granary, the Bhantar of Kumbha

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132. op. cit., vv.8-9.

133. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.289.

Rāṇā.'[134] The D'onjon of a fortress is its highest `keep' (the last post). If it falls to the enemy, the campaign is completely lost for the defending power. The Kīrttistambha inscription testifies to the construction of a huge tank, Rāmakuṇḍa, and four more tanks as reservoirs by Kumbha near the temple of Kumbhasvāmī in Achalagarh.[135] The long association of Mahārāṇā Kumbha with the fort of Achalgarh is perhaps evident from the presence of a statue of Mahārāṇā Kumbha on horse-back with those of the two other Mahārāṇās and a bigger statue of the Purohit of Kumbha on the descent from Achalgarh to Dilwara.[136] The above evidences along with Kumbha's Abu-inscriptions[137] speak for the annexation of the region of Abu-Sirohi by Kumbha.

Kumbha and the Merwara:

Although the seizure of the fort of Vardhamānagiri (Badnor) have been attributed to Rāṇā Lākhā,[138] but its recapture by Rāṇā Kumbha speaks of the difficulty of holding a Meḍa stronghold. To ensure its retainment, Kumbha is known to have built a new fortress at Vairat near Badnor.[139] The fortresses of Badnor and Vairat were to be utilized in integrating the Merwara as well as in creating a second line of defence for the newly constructed second capital-town of Kumbhalgarh in Merwara. These fortresses were equally important to engage an invading army from the central Rajasthan

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134. Tod, Travels in Western India, op. cit., p.94.

135. op. cit., vv.12-13.

136. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., p.123.

137. Vide Passim, Ch.III, Section C: Kumbha and the Devḍā Cāhamānas of Sirohi.

138. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., v.212, *`Medānārādbhallasādulla sattadebharīdhīradhvānavidh vastadhairyān kāram, Kāram yo grahidurgatija dagdhārāti vardhanākhyam girindram'*.

139. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th Slab, op. cit., v.254.

and the Delhi sultanate. They are likely to have been entrusted to a band of comparatively trusted chiefs. In the absence of direct and contemporary evidence, it is difficult to comment upon the posting of the actual chiefs at Badnor and Vairat in the reign of Kumbha. However, there is a possibility that both these strongholds might have been conferred upon those chiefs who were new entrants to the Guhila court. Posting of the new Rajput chiefs in such sensitive peripheral areas would have ensured less trouble for the state. This is because the new Rajput elements could only emerge politically dominant by banking upon their linkages with the royal family. It is important that a contemporary official record refers to Kumbha's Gauḍa queen, the mother of Rāṇā Rāimalla.[140] It is also evident from the Baḍvādevīdān Khyāt that Rajput lineages like the Gauḍas and Tomars were emerging prominent for the first time in Guhila polity during Kumbha's reign. Baḍvādevīdān lists a Gauḍa and a Tomār queen for Rāṇā Kumbha.[141] Therefore, it is not unlikely that some Gauḍa and Tomār chiefs (queens' kinsmen) might have been appointed to take charge of the forts of Badnor and Vairat. Although Khyāts might also reflect the fact that the Rajput chiefly families of the Gauḍas and Tomārs in Mewar are likely to have claimed social prestige later on by tracing matrimonial links with the legendary Kumbha, the absence of their strongholds in the fifteenth century Mewar strengthens our assumption that the Rajput chiefs other than the Hāḍās, Rāṭhaurs, Solaṅkīs or Paramāras (local Rajput chiefs) are likely to have been appointed in controlling the fortresses of Merwara. Moreover, contemporary reference to the Gauḍa queen indicates presence of her kinsmen. The subsequent history of Badnor however proves that the military *paṭṭās* (service deeds) were not necessari-

140. Ekaliṅga dakṣiṇa dvāra Praśasti, op. cit., Mewari part, l.16 & 19, '*Śrī Kumbhakarṇarā putra Gauḍarājanya vaṁśabharaṇa rāṇī śrī Puvāḍare garbharatna aśva, kalpanīkalpadrum mahārāya Śrī Rāimalla rājye*'.

141. Baḍvādevīdān Khyāt, op. cit., p.5.

ly hereditary in nature. Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā (early sixteenth century) is known to have conferred Badnor on Duṅgar Siṁha Cāhamāna, a famous official in Mahārāṇā's army. His sons and nephews all lost their lives in the siege of Ahmadnagar. Muhnot Nainsī confirms this fact.[142] The case of Badnor suggests that the court never made the office of a fort-incharge, a hereditary post in such militarily and politically sensitive areas as Merwara tract.

Kumbhalgarh:

The greatest Guhila achievement in Merwara was the construction of the Kumbhalgarh fort by Rāṇā Kumbha. The text *Saṅgītarāja* refers to the fort of Kumbhalgarh variously as Agastīpura, Kameśvarīgiri, Mahiṣmerū and Mahiṣcala.[143] The Kīrttistambha inscription eulogises the fort.[144] It was designed and built by Kumbha's famous architect Mandana. The construction began in A.D. 1443 and was completed in A.D. 1458.[145] It is situated at the top of a hill 914 metres high and is at a distance of 64 kilometres from Udaipur. The location of this fortress overlooking the Godwar region on its north-west and commanding the Merwara belt made it more difficult to approach than Chittaurgarh because of its steep hilly terrain and the surrounding forests. The winding road leads over deep ravines through forests. About thirteen Aravalli peaks surround it and make it impregnable.[146]

Local annals emphasise the association of the Meda tribe with Kumbhalgarh at the early stage of its construc-

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142. Cited in Harbilas Sarda, Mahārāṇā Sāṅgā, op. cit., p.80.

143. op. cit., Appendix IV, p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

144. op. cit., vv.126-146.

145. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., p.128.

146. Prabhakar V. Begde, Forts and Palaces of India, New Delhi, 1982, p.107.

tion. Local legends clam that these mountain ranges were conquered by Kumbha from a Meda ruler. The vanquished Meda is said to have offered himself as a voluntary sacrifice for the foundations of the fortress. A shrine at the bottom of the fort has been raised over the head of the Meda, and another on the highest terrace of the fort over the body of the vanquished Meda King.[147] It is relevant to mention the Medas here for they too seem to have influenced the programme of construction of military structures at Kumbhalgarh discussed below. The fact that the very purpose of erecting this fortress was the personal security of the royal family besides a military function, is evident from the following description of its series of defensive walls and gateways. `In the distance, wall after wall appears. Seven great gates stand sentinel at the approaches, and seven ramparts, one within the other, with crenellated walls, strengthened by rounded bastions and immense watch towers, make this fort strong and impregnable with seven formidable gate ways'.[148] It is known that the fort could support three thousand troops with provisions for a year and provide drinking water through small tanks, spread over the whole fort.[149] Such vast security arrangements at this fort, which served as a royal residence too, raise interesting questions as to the actual power of the Guhila kings even at their capital Chittaurgarh. Kumbhalgarh was the stand-by capital if Chittaurgarh fell. But what has been ignored is the importance of the personal security realized by Rāṇā Kumbha.

Assassinations of Guhila rulers including Mokal and Kumbha[150] reveal their vulnerability. Intrigues and conspiracies at the royal court left the royal family insecure

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147. Ibid.

148. Ibid., pp.107-108.

149. Ibid., p.108.

150. Vir Vinod, vol.I, op. cit., pp.315, 334.

at Chittaurgarh. Both the location and the inhospitable terrain of Kumbhalgarh offered Kumbha a refuge. Hence, he is known to have undertaken a massive programme of building of bastions and gates here. Secondly, the presence of the recalcitrant Medas evident from the Guhila recapture of their strongholds near Kumbhalgarh also necessitated constructions of safety walls at Kumbhalgarh.

Kumbhalgarh was further defended by yet another inner fort, Kātārgarh, on a conical hillock.[151] It is well-known that `The highest monument of Kumbha's military and constructive genius... is the wonderful fortress of Kumbhalgarh or Kumbhalmer, second to none in strategic importance.... It was to this impregnable fortress that the Maharanas of Mewar always turned their eyes, when Udaipur became unsafe and Chittor untenable'.[152] Finally, the association of Kuntipur with Rāṇā Kumbha[153] indicates that he built another small fortress near Kumbhalgarh at Ranakpur. Kuntīpur of <u>Saṅgītarāja</u> is identified with Ranakpur.[154]

In addition, Kumbha is known to have built the fortress of Machan to defend Shera Nallah and that of Devgarh to contain the Medas.[155] Devgarh is situated to the north-west of Kumbhalgarh on the bank of river Khari bordering the districts of Pali, Ajmer and Bhilwara.

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151. James Tod writes, `It would be vain to attempt describing the intricacies of approach to this far-famed abode, ... A massive wall, with numerous towns and pierced battlements, ...the eye ranges over the sandy deserts and the chaotic mass of mountains which are on all sides, covered with the cactus, which luxuriates amidst the rocks of the Aravalli'. See <u>Annals</u>, Vol.I, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.670.

152. H.B. Sharda, MK, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.125 and 127.

153. Saṅgītarāja, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

154. <u>Ibid</u>.

155. Tod, <u>Annals</u>, Vol.I, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.289.

The forts of Yāgpur/Jājpur (Jahazpur in the north-eastern part of Bhilwara district) and Champāvatī in the north-eastern part of upper Banas plain were militarily essential to guard the northern frontier, as well as the forts of Badnor and Vairat in Merwara tract, and as a second line of defence to Mandalgarh and other Hāḍā forts in Eastern Mewar. A seventeenth century official source, the *Amarakāvyam*, ascribes the conquest of Jahazpur to Rāṇā Khetā and also mentions that it was a stronghold of the Kheradā Rajputs.[156] However, the fifteenth century Guhila inscriptions cited above show that Kumbha captured Jahazpur possibly for the first time, even as traditions and the seventeenth century official sources indicate that Guhila attempts to control Jahazpur began in the pre-Kumbha period. The fort of Champāvatī, north of Jahazpur, is likely to have functioned as a complimentary stronghold defending Jahazpur.

Kumbha and the Bhomat:

Similar to his policy in the Merwara, Kumbha took necessary military steps to defend strategic forts in the central parts and western borders of the Mewar hills against the Bhils. Sporadic and recurrent Bhil revolts characterized the fourteenth-fifteenth century history of Mewar. Kumbha is popularly credited with the building of fortresses to contain the Bhils of Bhomat. 'He built various other forts to overawe Bhumia Bhils of Jarole and Panora,...'[157] The association of some of the fortreses of Mewar with Kumbha in the *Saṅgītarāja* proves the point. The list is as follows: Kalyāṇapur (ancient Kiṣkindhā/Kiṣkindhipur), Maṇipur (Ratanpur near Koṭḍa), Mahadamhamātṛikāpur (Yoginīpura/zawar) and Śuklapura (Dhavalapura/Dhuleva near zawar

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156. Op. cit., p.141, vv.2, 4, *Rājyam Cakre Kṣetrasiṁho raṇakarmaṇi karmathah 1 nirmame nirmalayaśo sarvā sarvasahā vaśe. Rudhvā jājpuram sanyairjaghān sa tadiśvaram 1 Lālākhyam Kṣetrasiṁhendrah Kherādkulagulahat 11*

157. Tod, Annals, vol.I, op. cit., p.289.

mines).[158] As evident from the map, these four fortresses are situated almost in a straight line east of Jarole and Panarwa. This chain of fortresses stands as a guard not only against the Bhils of Jarole and Panarwa but also seems to be militarily significant in controlling a major part of the Bhomat as well as the Chappan, the Bhil countries in the south-west and the southern parts of Mewar, respectively.

Kumbha and the Capital town, Chittaurgarh

Finally, the chain of forts remains incomplete without an examination of the capital, Chittaurgarh. Unlike Gwalior which is mentioned for its strength and invincibility in contemporary Persian works such as Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, and Al-Badaoni's Muntakhab-i-Tawarikh,[159] Chittaurgarh does not find mention on the same scale in the contemporary Persian works. But, indirect references to its military might and the military support it enjoyed from its hinterland as well as the en-route forts can be gleaned from one of the contemporary Persian texts. The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Ziau-d din Barni, gives the following account of Alauddin's return from Chittaurgarh after his first siege. `The Sultan now returned from the conquest of Chitor, where his army had suffered great loss in prosecuting the siege during the rainy season... the Sultan had just returned from Chitor, and had had no time to refil and recruit his army after his great losses in the siege...'[160] The hill-features and its natural fortifications undoubtedly played a very significant military role in defending the fort and had the advantage of functioning as a natural watch-tower for the sur-

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158. Saṅgītarāj a, op. cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

159. B.D. Mishra, The Forts and Fortresses of Gwalior and its Hinterland, New Delhi, 1993, pp.73-74.

160. Elliot and Dowson, Vol.III, op. cit., p.189.

rounding landscape.[161] If Bhīṣmapura (identified as Hammīrapura) of Saṅgītarāja[162] can be identified with Hammīragarh of the Southern Bhilwara district, it would not be inaccurate to suggest that Kumbha had either built or fortified an old fort on the banks of the Banas with a view to defend the capital-town of Chittaurgarh.

Pre-Kumbha Guhila fortifications at Chittaurgarh are evident from the surviving fragments of the palace attributed to Rāvat Chūṇḍā, the eldest son of Rāṇā Lākhā (the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth centuries) including a watch tower, standing at the north-western corner of a building.[163] In fact, Tillotson points out that such architectural pattern of the fifteenth century palaces at Chittaur is a continuation of a long-established tradition.[164] Contemporary records testify amply to the programme of defence undertaken by mahārāṇā Kumbha at the fortress of Chittaurgarh. The Kīrttisthambha inscription states that in A.D. 1450 Kumbha built a new bastion with battlements at Kumbhalgarh.[165] The same record ascribes the erection of the following gates: Rāmpol (the pol or pratolī means gateway), Hanumānpol, Bhairavapol, Lakṣmīpol, Chamuṇḍāpol, Tārāpol and Rājapol to Kumbha.[166] The last four pols are now popularly known as Lakṣmaṇpol, Jaṛolpol, Gaṇeśpol and

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161. B.D. Mishra, op. cit., p.11. Prabhakar V. Begde also observes, "The fort is defended by a formidable crenellated curtain wall. The fort was approached from three sides, north, east and west" along difficult paths with gates at intervals over the ascent, op. cit., p.104.

162. op cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

163. G.H.R. Tillotson, Rajput Palaces: The development of an Architectural Style 1450-1750, London, 1987, p.41.

164. Ibid.

165. op. cit., vv.26, 184, 187.

166. Ibid., vv.184 and 187.

Pādalpol.[167] Kīrttistambha inscription also mentions that he built the main road up the hill for the smooth passage of carriages.[168] Kumbha also took necessary steps to ensure a regular supply of water to the fort by getting Rāmakuṇḍa, several stepped wells, and reservoirs constructed.

An idea of Kumbha's contributions to the making of this fortress as a military focal point of the Guhila state as well as attempting to ensure the security of the royal family can also be perceived from the locational and architectural feature of Kumbha's palace. This was situated on the western side of the fort, mile approached through the two gateways from the east, Bādī Pol and Tripoliā.[169] These gates lead to a *Darikhānā* or *Sabhā*, a low hypostyle hall which seems to conceal the main entrance in the south facade to the private apartment.[170] A small doorway in the back of the *Sabhā* gives access to a flight of stairs which leads up into the body of the palace. The north-western corners of the palace is flanked by two towers. The towers had three storeys, each a single square chamber. The central block consisted of two rectangular chambers, and a roof terrace. In front of the whole apartment is a small *chowk* (courtyard) and the entrance to the apartment is from this chowk.[171] The interior arrangement of this set of towers points to its military purpose. They definitely functioned as the watch-towers.

Having ensured Mewar of a strong chain of fortresses, Rāṇā Kumbha claimed victory over the following forts of neighbouring polities.

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167. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., p.138.

168. op. cit., vv.34-35.

169. G.H.R. Tillotson, op. cit., p.41.

170. Ibid., pp.40-41.

171. Ibid., p.44.

Mahoragapura of the Saṅgītarāja[172] or Nāgapur of the Kīrttistambha *praśasti*,[173] - the fort of Nagaur (central Rajasthan) under the suzertainty of the sultanate of Gujarat, Vedikāgiri of the *Saṅgītarāja*[174] or Hāḍāvatī of the Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*[175] - fortresses of Bundi-Kota region east of Manḍalgarh in the possession of the Hāḍās, Śrīpur of the Saṅgītarāja[176] - Śrīnagar near Ajmer, possibly a Rāṭhaur possession in the fifteenth century, Saṅgmatī of the Saṅgītarāja[177] - tentatively identified with Sāṅgāner near Jaipur. Possibly, the Delhi sultanate (Saiyyaids) claimed suzerainty over this part (north-eastern) of Rajasthan which was emerging as a domain of the Kacchchawāhās. The Suvarṇagiri of the Saṅgītarāja[178] - the fort of Jalor (Hassan Khan Pathan held Jalor in this period under the suzerainty of the sultanate of Gujarat), Ajaymerū of the Ranakpur *praśasti*[179] - the fort of Ajmer, a Rāṭhaur possession, Sāraṅgapura of the Ranakpur *praśasti*[180] or Khalji or Kuraṅgagiri of the Saṅgītarāja[181] fort of Sāraṅgpur in Malwa, south-east of Jhalawar, Manḍovarapur of the Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*[182] - the Rāṭhaur fort of Manḍor near Jodhpur, Janakacala of the

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172. op. cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

173. op. cit., vv.20-22.

174. Ibid., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

175. op. cit., v.264.

176. op. cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

177. Ibid., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

178. Ibid.

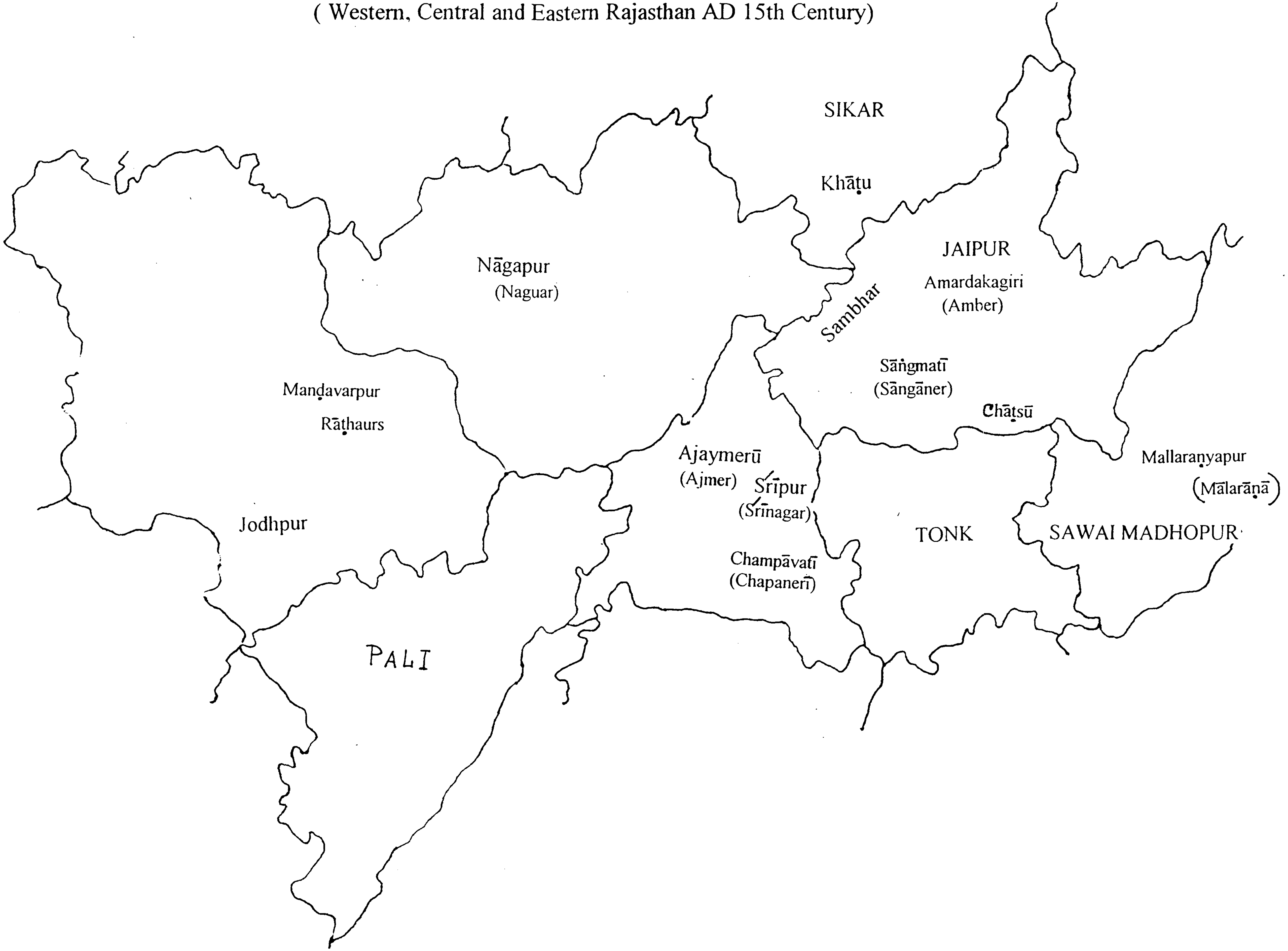
179. op. cit., 1.12.

180. Ibid.

181. op. cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

182. oc. cit., v.249.

Mahārāṇā Kumbha And Guhila Control of Forts Beyond Mewar :
(Western, Central and Eastern Rajasthan AD 15th Century)



Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*[183] - the Khalji forts of Malwa, Mallanārāyaṇapur of the Ranakpur *Praśasti*[184] - the fort of Mālarāṇa near Sawai Madhopur (likely to be in the possession of a local Rajput chief), Raṇasthambha of the Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*[185] - the fort of Ranathambhor near Sawai Madhopur (being close to Mallanārāyaṇapur, Raṇastambha is likely to have been under the same Rajput power) Chāṭsu - the fort of chāṭsu near Jaipur (possibly a Kacchhawāhā stronghold),[186] Khāṭu of the Ranakpur praśasti[187] - the fort of Khāṭu near Jaipur, a Rāṭhaur possession, Amardakagiri of the Saṅgītarāja[188] - the fort of Amradādrī or Amber, the political-seat of the Kacchhawāhās.

Such massive campaigns undoubtedly reflect a diversion of resources to the Guhila state in the fifteenth century. It is significant that the fifteenth century world of the Guhilas was dominated by the forts, indicating the Guhila dependence on them for the strategic and the economic reasons. The resources diverted from the neighbouring forts undoubtedly went into the making of the massive fortresses and the temple-complexes particularly in the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha.

The Horse and Military Apparatus of Mewar

The fifteenth century sources from Mewar clearly indicate the presence of horses and elephants in the royal army. The Rājavallbhmandana provides details of the constructions of horse and elephant stables separately in the campuses of

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183. op. cit., v.256.

184. op. cit., 1.12.

185. op. cit., v.261.

186. Ranakpur praśasti, op. cit., 1.13.

187. Ibid.

188. op. cit., p.680, sub-page: ṇa.

the forts.[189] The *Rāimalla Rāsā*, a bardic account of Mahārāṇā Rāimalla (Kumbha's son and successor) provides a long list of chiefs and their horses in the army of the Rāṇā in the fight against Zaffar Khan, the Khalji governor of Malwa. The famous battle of Maṇḍalgarh against the Khaljis is also recorded by the Ekaliṅgajī temple *Dakṣiṇa dvāra praśasti*.[190] The Rāimalla Rāsā also makes a significant mention of control and distribution of horses on the eve of battle. It is stated that Mahārāṇā Rāimalla himself distributed the horses (indicating royal control over the best horses/the Arabic breed) to all the chiefs on the eve of the battle with the Khaljis.[191]

The bardic texts from Rajasthan such as the Bhagḍāvat Devnārāyaṇa Mahāgāthā narrating the tale of a Gurjara community from central and southern Rajasthan claiming Cāhamāna lineage and tracing their history from the Cāhamāna Vīsaldevrāo's reign (early thirteenth century) throws significant light on the breeding of horses by the Bagḍāvats. It is significant that centres in Mewar such as Rupaheli, Badnaur, Bagor, Asind, etc., are repeatedly mentioned in this ballad.[192] The Arabic text, Zafarul-wali-Bi-Muzaffar-wali,

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189. op. cit., pp.97-98, for instance see vv.24-29, '*turaṅga mānām gṛihavāmbhāge śālā catuhṣaṣṭikara vidheyā śatārdhadat madhyamikā ca dairgheya koniyasī tairdaśābhirvihīna ll tejohānimanī hayā vidadhate pūrvāparāsyam nṛinām te yāmyottarotomukhā hi satatam kīrttiyarśo dhānyakam rāgābdhyaṁgulakaistu vājīvijayosītyā tathā bhairavah saptadhā ll Iti aśvaśālā ll Siṁhadvāram pūrvamānena kāryam syātam madhye ltaḍākau rakṣaṇārtham tullau vāpi sārdhāi ll bhāge dakṣiṇavāmake ca karīnām śālā haredvāritah nagaṇirgadito mando nandaih karairūchchhritah ll Iti gajaśālā*'.

190. op. cit., vv.77-78.

191. Vir Vinod, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.339-341.

192. Usha Kasturia, Rājasthānī Vīragāthātmak Pawāḍe: Samrachana Evam, Delhi, 1989, pp.45-46; Also see, Lakshmikumari Chundawat (ed.), Bagḍāvat Devanārāyaṇa Mahāgāthā, Jaipur, 1993.

narrates an interesting anecdote: merchants complained to the Sultan Mahmud I of Gujarat regarding the seizure of their horses by the King of Abu (Mount Abu) in A.D. 1458-59.[193] Such anecdotes certainly testify to the military importance of horses.[194]

The present chapter discusses the important changes in the administrative and the military apparatus of the Guhila state between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The changes essentially relate to the growing importance (qualitative difference) of various administrative offices and a significant change in administrative personnel. Unlike the early medieval situation, increasing royal control over the *maṇḍapikās*, the items of commerce and taxation directly point towards the growth of state power by the thirteenth century through the incorporation of more and more locally, influential social groups into the administrative apparatus. Instead of the Rajput chiefs in the early medieval period, the members of the non-Rajput social groups such as the wealthy and the influential Jains, Ṭāmṭaraḍa family of Nāgdā, etc., emerged as the important administrative functionaries between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The change in the nature of the administrative personnel reminds us of Henri Stern's observations on the royal court of the Rajput states in which the departments of

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193. M.F. Lokhandwala (ed.), Zafar ul Walih Bi Muzaffar-Walih of Abdullah Muhammad Al-Ulughkhani Hajji (translated from Arabic into Engllish by Al-Makki Al-Asafi Addabir), Gaekwad oriental series, No.152, Baroda, 1970, p.30.

194. Norman P. Ziegler in his study of the Rāṭhaur state discusses linkages between the Rāṭhaur land grants to the different Rajput chiefs and the maintenance needs for the horses. These *paṭṭā* grants were being extensively used in the time of Rāo Gaṅgo to enforce the obligations of the service to the state and to recruit the new Rajputs into the military services. See his "Evolution of the Rathor State of Marvar: Horses, Structural Change and Warfare" in Susan Rudolph, et. al., The Idea of Rajasthan Explorations in Regional Identity, vol.II, op. cit., p.199.

the royal administration are generally directed by the high dignitaries of the non-Rajput castes such as the brāhmaṇas, the osvāls and the kāyasthas.[195] As the political structure changed in the fifteenth century, so did the Rajput components in the military apparatus. Instead of the Paramāras, Hūṇas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cāhamānas of the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the newly emerging Rajput chiefs such as the Hāḍās, Kherādas, Gauḍas, Tomārs, Solaṅkīs, Sānkhlās, etc., contributed to the making of military leadership in the fifteenth century. The increasing Guhila hold over a chain forts and fortresses beyond the Mewar hills and Chittaurgarh unlike their early medieval situation proves an extended line of defence in the fifteenth century. Similarly, the Guhila state fortified or built the new bastions in the tribal areas of the Bhomat (Bhils) and the Merwara (Medas) in the fifteenth century to defend the extended core-areas and the northern frontiers respectively. The massive programme of the construction of the gateways and the additional bastions at Kumbhalgarh and Chittaurgarh secured the personal security of the royal family amidst court-intrigues and conspiracies, than act as the mere military structures. Finally, our study of the administrative and military apparatus of the state of Mewar between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries reveals that the state apparatus grew in strength by sharing, accommodating, and delegating governmental power to the different locally, important social groups rather than by centralizing state-power.

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195. op. cit., p.67.

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF LEGITIMATION OF THE GUHILA STATE: THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION

I

Any study of state formation will remain incomplete without an enquiry into the aspect of legitimation of royal power. Early medieval states derived validation of authority from diverse sources. At the core of the legitimation was the relationship between a sacred authority and a temporal power, which for early Indian monarchical organization continued to be defined by the relationship between the brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya. In the early medieval period the temple had emerged as the nucleus of a sacred space and various sects, with their institutional locus in monasteries and temples came to develop close links with royalty. Royal power therefore drew upon ideological and symbolic support in diverse ways. We begin with a discussion on the pattern of the landgrants which were made to brāhmaṇas, as well as their presence in the royal court followed by an analysis of the origin myths of the Guhilas, and finally, a survey of the religious situation in early medieval Mewar, royal patronage of a particular cult centre and the sect associated with it. We will highlight the process through which the Guhila monarchy affiliated itself to the central cult of Ekaliṅga in Mewar and drew legitimation from it and how the protagonists of Ekaliṅga successfully integrated the various local religious traditions and local *tīrthas* to shape the traditions of Mewar.

Recent literature on legitimation provides some excellent studies on the interdependence of the sacred and the temporal. While Sibesh Bhattacharya discusses the power of the brāhmaṇas vis-a-vis the kṣatriyas with the rise of *mahajanapadas* leading to the political power of the royal

priests in validating the growing state power,[1] Louis Dumont and J.C. Heesterman highlight the dependence of the priest on the king for subsistence so that the brāhmaṇa trades his transcendant authority to legitimize temporal power in return for material benefit.[2] In a more specific study, Romila Thapar discussing social mobility amongst elite groups in early India, remarks that the rise of the local ruling families to political power was possibly faster in the post-Gupta period when memories of their low caste origins had to be rapidly expunged.[3] Hence, genealogists grew in status with the multiplication of the small, regional kingdoms during the period. Consequently, the political rise of the brāhmaṇas can be traced to their absorptions in the court.[4] `By the medieval period the office of *purohita* is not only frequently hereditary but has also been politicized....'[5] B.D. Chattopadhyaya in his analysis of the origin of the Rajputs highlights the significance of the changing genealogical claims of the leading Rajput families.[6] The fabrication of genealogies clearly reflects upward mobility.

If the landgrants to the brāhmaṇas ensured the territo-

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1. IHR, Vol.X, nos.1-2, 1983-84, pp.3-20.

2. Louis Dumont, `The Conception of Kingship in Ancient India' in Religion, Politics and History in India: Collected Papers in Indian Sociology, Paris-Hague, 1970, p.65; J.C. Heesterman, `Power and Authority in Indian Tradition', in R.J. Moore (ed.), Tradition and Politics in South Asia, Delhi, 1979, p.82. Also see Idem, `Power, Priesthood and Authority' in his The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship and Society, Chicago and London, 1985, pp.141-57.

3. "Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups", in her Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations, op. cit., p.133.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.136.

6. `Origin of the Rajputs', op. cit., pp.66-70.

rial spread of state-society,[7] the *bhakti* ideology, by integrating local cults and *tirthas* into the expansive Purāṇic fold, made the temple the institutional focus that effectively linked temporal power with the sacred domain in the early medieval period. Such an alliance could be achieved through two possible mechanisms. The King could seek to appropriate the sacred domain through a process of identification with the divinity enshrined in the temple (a practice initiated by the Pallavas and augmented by the Colas and similar to the Devarāja cult of Southeast Asia). The second way was to surrender temporal power to the divinity (like the dedication of the Kingdom of Orissa to the cult of Jagannātha by the imperial Gaṅgas).[8] Hermann Kulke has worked out details of the royal patronage of tribal deities in the early stage of state formation[9] and patronage of a supra-local cult centre in the later stages of state formation in Orissa.[10]

Modes of legitimation through cult centres continously changed through different stages of state formation. Orissa in the early medieval period witnessed royal patronage of local or regional cults, deeply influenced by the emergence of *bhakti* movements with its strong local and regional roots as the genuine popular religion. Legitimation ranged from princely patronage of tribal deities by upcoming monarchs, to construction of imperial temples by rulers of regional kingdoms. During the medieval period royal religious policy shifted its emphasis to patronage of places of pilgrimage

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7. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, `Political Processes and Structure', op. cit., p.198.

8. Ibid., p.199.

9. `Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms' in A. Eschmann, H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathi (eds.), The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, op. cit., pp.129-30.

10. `King Anangabhīma III, the Veritable Founder of the Gajapati Kingship and of the Jagannātha Trinity at Puri', in his Kings and Cults, op. cit., pp.17-32.

and their cults and sectarian leaders.[11] The "imperial" temples popularized mythical accounts of founder-kings of the "hoary past" with legendary accounts of former imperial royal donors and descriptions of more recent historical local kings.[12]

The political purpose served by such mechanisms is obvious. For instance, comparison between Hindu temple cults and the cults of autochthonous local deities certainly induced people to draw comparisons between the status of their earlier tribal chiefs and that of the new `Hindu' rājā.

But tribal groups were not the only components of the political structure of the states of early medieval times. There were bigger and smaller *sāmantas* controlling nuclear and peripheral areas beyond the core. The transition from a sub-regional to a regional state meant integration of these areas and incorporation of local *sāmantas*. In other words, having surveyed the process of horizontal legitimation, we enter into the arena of vertical legitimation as the state attains the status of a regional power. Kulke observes that the Hindu rājās achieved integration of "dangerous feudal forces" by the following three ritual means. Rulers patronized *tīrthas* of regional and all-India importance within their respective states. There was also systematic settlement of the brāhmaṇas throughout the territorial expanse. Finally, there was the construction of grand new temples. Kulke points out that lack of scholarly attention to these great temples is surprising, for they were built in various regional states precisely in the period of the "heyday of political feudalism".[13]

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11. Hermann Kulke, "Preface", Kings and Cults, op. cit., p.ix.

12. Ibid., pp.9-10.

13. Idem, `Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms' in A. Eschmann, H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathi (eds.), The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, op. cit., p.132.

Kulke has shown that the Gaṅga state in Orissa, ably combined both vertical and horizontal legitimation through their patronage of the sub-regional autochthonous Jagannātha cult. The cult of Jagannātha came to acquire the status of the "King of the Orissan Empire" (*Oḍisā-rājya-rājā*)[14] under whose overlordship (*sāmarājya*) the Gajapati Kings ruled as his deputy (ravutā) and son (putra) from the early thirteenth century onwards.[15]

An excellent survey of the linkage between the monarchy and cult centres in the state of tribal Bastar was made by the anthropologist Surajit Sinha. It is important to note that many of the local chiefs including Rāj Gonds of Bhopalpatnam are perhaps of earlier origin than the Kākatīya state of Bastar.[16] For Wilfred Grigson: "All these facts indicate that before Annamdeo's arrival there was a nominal suzerainty of Warangal over most of Bastar, the authority resting with local chiefs, or in the heads of old tribal organisation that was a marked feature of the medieval kingdoms of the eastern Central Provinces and some of the Chotanagpur and the Orissa estates".[17] In this context the cult of the royal goddess Danteśvarī or Māṇikeśvarī (Māoli) becomes central to the legitimation process of state formation in

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14. Hermann Kulke, Anangabhīma III, the Veritable Founder of the Gajapati Kingship and of the Jagannātha Trinity at Puri, op. cit., pp.21-22. Here, the concept of empire has been used by the Gajapati dynasty as a symbol of their sovereignty over the entire region of Orissa.

15. Idem, `Early Royal Patronage of the Jagannātha Cult', Ibid., pp.150-55.

16. Surajit Sinha, `State Formation and Rajput Myth in Central India' in Man in India, vol.42, no.1, 1962, pp.68-69.

17. Wilfred Grigson, The Maria Gonds of Bastar, London, 1949, p.4. Also see Verrier Elwin, The Muria and Their Ghotul, Bombay, 1947, p.183,.

tribal Bastar.[18]

States and cult centres in South India have received wide attention. Research ranges from the study of religious cults and institutions of Deccan, temple cities in Tamilnadu in the Cola period, Kālāmukha and Kāpālika monasteries in Karnataka in the Cāulukya period, to the study of the Sthalapurāṇa Cidambaramāhātmyam. R.N. Nandi's approach towards the study of cults and religious institutions in Deccan remains embedded in the context of "feudal" state in early medieval period. The kings, governors and their officials with their vast resources, patronized local temples and their sects or particular sects, such as the Kālāmukhas of Karnataka, Tamilnadu, and Andhra Pradesh to legitimize increasing extractions in cash, kind and labour.[19] In a work of a similar genre but highlighting the validation of monarchical power, Keshavan Veluthat cites the case of the Pallavas, who chose to identify with divine or Purāṇic figures, with the consecration of kings in the temples.[20] David N. Lorenzen in his detailed study of the Śaivite Kālāmukhas and Kāpālikas of early medieval Deccan highlights for the first time the socio-religious importance and popu-

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18. Surajit Sinha writes, "The most striking feature about the Bastar State is the completeness of interaction between the cults of the tribals and those of the Raja. The cult of the royal goddess Danteswari, Manikeswari or Maoli has spread over wide areas in Bastar, although when she is worshipped by the local tribal priests, the rituals become necessarily simple with local non-Sanskritic connotations. On the occasion of the Dussehra festival it is customary for all these village priests to bring the emblems of their gods and goddesses, and to asemble these around the emblem of the royal goddess Danteswari at Jagdalpur", State Formation and Rajput Myth in Central India, op. cit., p.69.

19. R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults in Deccan, Delhi, 1973, pp.14-16. Idem, Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1986, p.100.

20. Keshavan Veluthat, `Royalty and Divinity: Legitimisation of Monarchical Power in the South', in PHIC, 39th Session, Hyderabad, 1978, pp.241-49.

larity of these sects, that drew royal patronage.[21]

R. Champakalakshmi observes changing royal patronage to the temples cities of the medieval south. The city of Kudāmukka witnessed a general decline of Cola temples, but there emerged new centres of religious importance in the post-Cola Vijayanagar-Nāyak periods. A distinct shift is noted in royal patronage from the Śaiva to the Vaiṣṇava religious institutions.[22] For instance, new temples of Rāmasvāmī and Cakrapāṇi dotted the landscape of Kudāmukku.[23] Similar royal patronage to the Śaṅkarācārya *maṭha* and the Vīra Śaiva *maṭha* in the city of Kumbhakonam is recorded from the period of Vijayanagar onwards.[24] Champakalakshmi further contributes towards the study of state and cult in her review-essay of Burton Stein's Peasant State and Society in which she points out the utilization of the cult of Śivaliṅga by the early Colas in legitimizing their power.[25]

Hermann Kulke in his recent study of Cidambaramāhātmyam, analyses the political significance of the legend of Hiraṇyavarman and the career of the Cola King Kulottunga I. Kulke observes that we meet with a historical figure in Hiraṇyavarman whose legendary story alludes to a historical

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21. David N. Lorenzen, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects, Delhi, 1991, 2nd edition, pp.129-160.

22. R. Champakalakshmi, `Growth of Urban Centres in South India: Kudāmukku-Palaiyarai, the twin-city of the Colas' in Studies in History, vol.I, no.1, 1979, p.13.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p.14.

25. R. Champakalakshmi, Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India: A Review Article in IESHR Vol.XVIII, Pts.3-4(1981), p.420. "The early Chola temples, ..., systematically used the liṅga mainly due to its assimilative character as the only convenient aniconic form which could incorporate in canonical temples, local and popular cult practices centering round the Kandu or pillar and tree, thus providing constantly widening orbit for bringing in divergent socio-economic and ethnic groups into Śaiva worship".

situation.[26]

Finally, the linkage between state and cult was not the domain of Purāṇic sects alone but also permeated the history of heterodox sects. The observation has been made specially in the case of Jainism in early Karnataka. R.B.P. Singh in his detailed research on the growth of Jain monasticism in early medieval Karnataka quotes a number of contemporary records to prove the close links between the Jaina *ācāryas* and the members of the ruling elite in Karnataka.[27] The Kadambas, Gaṅgās, Western Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, later Western Cālukyas, and Hoysālās championed the cause of Jainism in Karnataka during the fifth to twelfth centuries.

II

The earliest legitimation of Guhila power seems to have been provided by the brāhmaṇas. The Guhila land-grant charters to the brāhmaṇas, particularly migrating from Ujjain, in the seventh century dominate the pattern of legitimation of the local states. The period also precedes the period of royal patronage to any particular religious sect. Guhila King Bheṭṭi turned the village of Ubbaraka into an *agrahāra* grant in favour of brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga of Candratrāya gotra and Vājasenaya cāraṇa for the religious merit of Mahārāja Bappadatti (king's father) in A.D. 679-80.[28] King Bābhaṭa granted two plots in the village of Mitrapallikā in Maṇḍalacchaka to five brāhmaṇa brothers, viz., Gopāditya, Gopādya, Debhāṭa, Debhāṭa Dhondhā and

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26. Kings and Cults, op. cit., pp.194-95.

27. R.B.P. Singh, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka: C. A.D. 500-1200, Delhi, 1975, p.109. 'The Jaina epigraphs as well as the literary texts from Karnataka reveal that some of the Jaina teachers acted as preceptors or instructors to Kings, princes, and feudal lords who ruled over different parts of Karnataka. Pujyapada, Jainasena, Gunabhadra, Ajitasena-bhattaraka and Vadighangala Bhatta were some of the prominent Jaina teachers who took active interest in the day-to-day activities of the royal courts'.

28. Dhulev Plate of Maharaja Bheṭṭi, op. cit., vv.2-4.

Gopasvāmin, son of Gopā of Kurāgiri in A.D. 688-89.[29] The fact that three out of five Kiṣkindhā Guhila records were royal landgrant charters to brāhmaṇas in the seventh century itself is an indicator of the political role of the migrating brāhmaṇas. These landgrants were made for the performance of such *yajñas* as *balī, cārū, sattra, vaiśvadeva, agnihotra*, etc., by the donee.[30] The grant consisted of a village (name is lost) in Purāpaṭṭa viṣaya.[31]

If the Pāśupatas legitimized increasing Guhila power in the growing Guhila state of Mewar, brāhmaṇas validated Guhila power in areas of territorial expansion in the eleventh century. Unālācārya (son of ācārya Sāhīya and belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* and Madhyandiṁā *caraṇa*) from Nāgahrda was settled in the village of Pali (modern town of Pali in Godwar) with substantial land granted by king Vijayasiṁha.[32] Here is an instance where the brāhmaṇas were sent from the core-area of the state to the new areas of control. The brāhmaṇas had already appeared at the royal court by the tenth century. They furnished the Guhila kings with a long genealogy for the first time and introduced brāhmaṇa status as well as the theme of Guhila origin from Anandapura (Gujarat).[33] The motif of Anandapura might allude to the presence of the Nāgar brāhmaṇas (originating from Anandapura) in the Guhila court of the tenth century.

In spite of drawing legitimation from Ekaliṅga, the royal family made landgrants to the brāhmaṇas in the core-area in the twelfth century. A landgrant charter of King Padmasiṁha of A.D. 1194 records the grant of land in the domain (estate) of Cāhamāna Rāo Mokaja in Kadmal village to a brāhmaṇa Śivaguṇa, son of Ārādhara, as a source of liveli-

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29. Dungarpur Plates of Bābhaṭa, op. cit., vv.12-19.

30. op. cit., 1.15.

31. Ibid., 11.13-14.

32. Kadmal plates of A.D. 1083, op. cit., vv.27-33.

33. Āṭpura Inscription, op. cit., v.1-10.

hood.[34] The piece of land is stated to be located in the midst of an *araghaṭṭa* named Gājana.[35] The village of Kadmal is situated 25 miles northwest of Udaipur. It is significant to note that the grant was made in a domain predominated by the Cāhamāna chiefs. The royal links were further strengthened with the same brāhmaṇa family as it continued to receive royal landgrants in the same locality. The Kadmal copper-plate inscription of Tejasiṁha of A.D. 1259 records the grant of land to Trivikrama, brāhmaṇa Śivaguṇa's son, located in the domain of Cāhamāna Rāo Chānd in Kadmal village.[36] It is also situated inthe midst of an *araghaṭṭa* called Gājan and is granted as *vṛtti* (livelihood).[37] The fact that this area of Cāhamāna dominance stood well integrated with the state by this period is evident from the fact that the Guhila Kings did not have to seek permission from the Cāhamāna chiefs to make such royal landgrants. This is to remind us of the contrast in the successive stages of state formation. What is more important to note is the legitimation played by the brāhmaṇa donees in localities dominated by the non-Guhila Rajput chiefs.

The brāhmaṇas also continued to contribute to the process of legitimation by composing Guhila *praśastis* and providing legitimizing motifs. In the reign of Samarasiṁha, the Chittaurgarh palace inscription of A.D. 1278 (recording royal grants to Bhartṛipurīyagachchha and building of Śyām Pārśvanāth *Vasahī* by the queen-mother Jayatalladevī) was composed by a number of brāhmaṇas. Two families were involved in this task and provide their genealogies in this record. It was composed by brāhmaṇa Sāḍala of Goḍagotra and Divakara lineage,[38] two brāhmaṇa brothers, Khīmaṭa and

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34. Shodh Patrika, v.s.2010, op. cit., pp.50-51. '*Mahārājādhirāj Śrī Padmasyamāndevaḥ Rāo Cāhuān Rāo Vāhaḍasuta Rāo Mokajasya sakala rājye Ārādhara suta brāho Śivaguṇa hasteudaka puravakam 1 Śavilarabhumyamkardamval grāme Vṛittisam juktā pradattam*'.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p.53.

37. Ibid.

38. op. cit., 11.13-14, '*Gaḍajātīyadvijadivākara Vaṁśodbhavavyāsaratnasutajjyotiḥ Sāḍala*'.

Bhīma, sons and grandsons of Bhaṭṭasāḍa and *Vipra* Delhana respectively.[39]

The famous Chittaurgarh *praśasti* of A.D. 1274 and Achaleśvara *praśasti* of A.D. 1285 introducing the legends of Bappa Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga in Mewar, legitimizing Guhila power at Citrakūṭa and whole of Mewar was composed by Veda Śarmā of Nāgarjñāti (Nāgar *gotra*).[40] Since both the Chittaurgarh and Achaleśvara *praśastis* stand apart as the two most outstanding royal charters of the Guhila in the thirteenth century, Nāgar brāhmaṇas seem to have received royal patronage on a significant scale in the second half of the thirteenth century. If Pāśupata ācāryas popularized the legitimizing motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga, Nāgar brāhmaṇa Vedaśarma was responsible for officially propagating the same. Since he describes himself as a favourite of Śrī Samadhīśa (the cult of Śiva in a royal temple in Chittaurgarh fort),[41] he seems to have been a local resident of Chittaurgarh, and not a migrant.

A change takes places in the structure of the local brāhmaṇa-elite and therefore in the royal patronage by the fifteenth century. The Daśapura brāhmaṇas seem to have replaced the Nāgar brāhmaṇas at the Guhila court. The Chittaurgarh stone inscription of A.D. 1428 can be considered as one of the earliest royal *praśastis* of the Ranas. It was composed by Ekanātha, son of Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, of the Daśapur clan.[42] Daśapura is the ancient Mandasaur (in Malwa), close to Chittaurgarh region.

The Śṛiṅgīriṣi inscription of Mokal was composed by one

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39. Ibid., 11.14-15, '*tathā ca Vipra Delhaṇasutabhaṭṭa sāḍā tatputra Dvārabhaṭṭa Khīmataṣtadbhrātṛi Bhīma Sahitena ebhirlikhitvā*'.

40. op. cit., v.60, '*Yokārśideklingatribhuvana vidita Śrīsamadhīścakrasvāmī-prāsādvṛinde priyapatutanayo Vedaśarmā praśastīh 11 tenaiṣāpi vyadhāyi sphutaguṇaviśadā Nāgarjñātibhāja Vipreṇaśeṣa vidbajjanahṛhayāhara citrakūṭasthitena.*'

41. Ibid.

42. op. cit., last additional five verses, v.1. '*Śrī maddaśāpurajñātih bhaṭṭa viṣṇostanudabhavah nāmnāikanathanāmāyāmlikhat kṛitimujvalam 11*'

Yogiśvara who bore the epithets *Vāṇīvilāsa* and *Kavirāja*.[43] Clearly he enjoyed a status and position of esteem at the court of Mokal.

These two epigraphic records of Mokal's reign throw further light on the groups of local brāhmaṇas in Mewar. The Chittaurgarh inscription which records the construction (repairs and embellishments?) of the temple of Samaddhīśvara at Citrakūṭa also registers the royal grant of the whole viilage of Dhanapura for its maintenance.[44] The grant of village Dhanapura for the upkeep of the royal temple of god Samaddhīśvara in effect benefitted the priests of the temple. And since Samaddhīśvara did not exactly qualify as a Pāśupata *tīrtha*, the non-Pāśupata brāhmaṇa priests must have presided there.

The mention of Rāṇā Mokal's personal preceptor, Trilochana, in the Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi inscription is significant. His permission was sought by Mokal to consecrate the reservoir built for the spiritual merit of his late Bāghelā queen, Gaurāmbikā.[45] Guru Trilochana possibly was connected with the Samaddhīśvara temple. The King must have been inspired by his preceptor to patronize the renovation of the temple. Mokal is specially described as a devotee of Samadhīśvara.[46] Secondly, this record specifies that the construction site of the reservoir was the hilly terrain called Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi. And in this context, the inscription provides a praśasti for this sage Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi as well.[47]

Mahārāṇā Kumbha patronized a number of brāhmaṇa families. These families were undoubtedly locally established brahmana families. Significantly, the earliest land-grant made by Māhārāṇā Kumbha to a brāhmaṇa was outside Mewar. The village Cūrī in Ajahari pargana (district Sirohi) was

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43. op. cit., v.28.

44. op. cit., vv.72-73.

45. op. cit., v.29.

46. op. cit., v.222. `*Nṛipah Samaddhīśvarasiddhatejah Samadhībhājam paramam rahasyam ll Ārādhya tasyalayamuddhas Śrīcitrakūṭe maṇitornamkam ll*

47. Ibid., vv.19-21, 24.

granted by Rāṇā Kumbha to a brāhmaṇa Devaprabhā.[48] The grant of a full village to a local brāhmaṇa in the early period of Kumbha's programme for territorial expansion in Sirohi region was an attempt to retain Guhila power through brahmanical approval in the newly annexed Sirohi region where the Devaḍā Cāhamānas were fast emerging as a local Rajput power.

Moreover, as Sirohi controlled the trade routes between Marwar and Gujarat via Mount Abu, it was essential to hold the region to divert resources towards Mewar. The concentration of rich Jain merchants at Dilwara, Mount Abu, etc. had appreciated the revenue-potentialities of the region increasingly over the period. It has already been noted that Mahārāṇā Kumbha exempted the pilgrims (effecting mostly the Jain pilgrims) from payment of a number of taxes.[49]

It was equally important for Kumbha to renew Guhila links with the brāhmaṇas in the core-areas of Guhila state. Kadiya (Udaipur district) inscription of A.D. 1443 records the construction of a temple of Kṛiṣṇa in the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha in Kadiya village by Tillabhaṭṭa of Bharadvāj *gotra*, a favourite of Kumbha.[50] The very mention that Tillabhaṭṭa was a favourite of Rāṇā Kumbha highlights the extent of Guhila patronage of brāhmaṇas of varied sectarian background in the fifteenth century. In all likelihood, village Kadiya in the Āhaḍa belt (Udaipur) had emerged as a centre of the Kṛiṣṇa-cult. The resources required for the construction of the Kṛiṣṇa temple seem to have also come from the state, since it was difficult for an individual brāhmaṇa to bear the cost. Kumbha patronized brāhmaṇas in the Merwara region as well, specially around the newly constructed fortress of Kumbhalgarh. Kacchchar copper-plate grant (a village in Kumbhalgarh pargana) of A.D. 1453 records the grant of

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48. Nathulal Vyas (ed.), Shodh Patrika, vol.7, no.1, Udaipur, 1955, p.65, '*Svasti Rāṇā Śrī Kumbha ādeśāta 11 Deva Prabhā jogyam Ajaharī Parganan cūrīyā sīmābdum samvat 1496 varṣe*'.

49. vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: Jains and the Guhilas.

50. H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., pp.173-74, No.5.

Kacchhar village to brāhmaṇa Godhā Gohad by Rāṇā Kumbha.[51] Landgrants in the tribal tract of Merwara (Meda tribe) were essential for obvious political and economic reasons. Such royal grants in the Aravallian regions are likely to have continued the process of bringing cultivable land under agriculture within the spatial limits of the villages, generating more resources for the local economy as well as setting the process of peasantisation of some of the members of the local Meda tribe.

It is equally important to note the language of royal landgrant charters of Kadia and Kachchhar villages. These were composed in the local dialect, the Mewari. This contrasts with the use of Sanskrit in contemporary royal *praśastis* and points to royal attempts at effective implementation of religious landgrants at the respective centres at a point of time when the state was forced to recognise the vernacular as a language of administration.

Rāṇā Lakṣmasiṁha made the following gifts of villages, etc., to the brāhmaṇas: (i) village of Pishpalikā to a learned brāhmaṇa named Jhotiṅga with all due ceremonies,[52] (ii) a village containing the five temples (Pañcadevālaya) to the west of mount Citrakūṭa to Dhaneśvara Bhaṭṭa,[53] (iii) and a gift of one lac gold coins to the brāhmaṇas, which amounted to one hundred thousand gold coins.[54] King Rāimalla also made the following gifts of villages to the brāhmaṇas. (i) Being pleased with the poet named Maheśa, he granted him the village of Ratnakhetā which produced (*ratnas*) jewels,[55] (ii) the village of Prahaṇa to Gopalbhaṭṭa as *dakṣhina*-village (gift),[56] (iii) the villages of Thūra

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51. Shodh Patrika, vol.7, op. cit., pp.65-66, '*Svasti Rāṇā śrī Kumbha ādeśatu Karī Kāchchhār grāma dāve Godhā Gohad jogya Śāsane datta Samvat 1510 Varṣe āṣāḍh pūrve.*'

52. Ekaliṅgajī temple Dakṣina Dvāra Praśasti, op. cit., v.39.

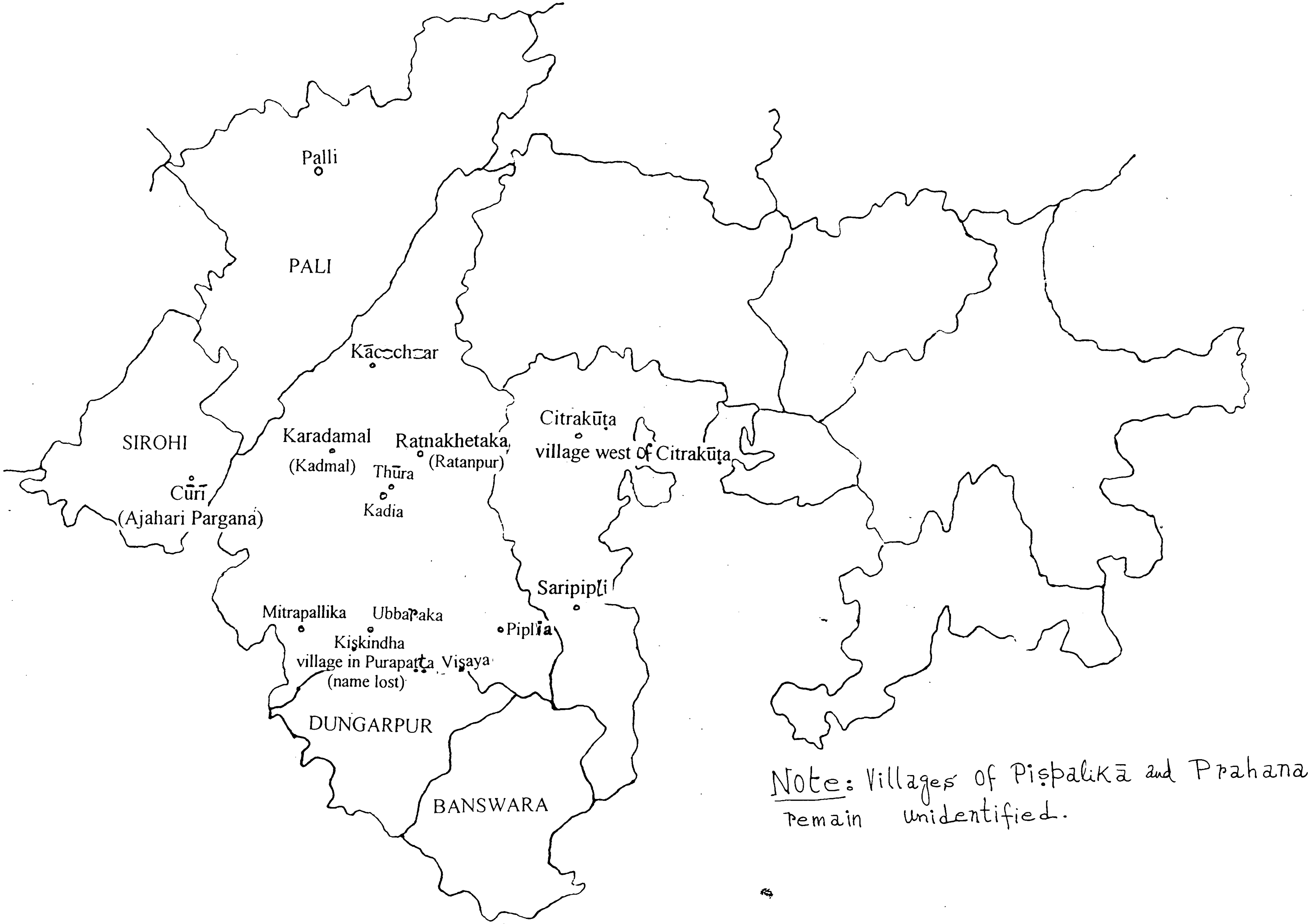
53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., v.40.

55. Ibid., v.67.

56. Ibid., v.82.

Guhila Landgrants to the Brāhmaṇas : AD 7th - 15th Centuries



(with lakes full of lotuses, fruitful trees, rows of rice-fields irrigated by water, a fine rosary of Mudgas and fields of sweet sugarcanes) to his guru Gopalabhaṭṭa.[57] Rāimalla issued an injunction to the public as well as to future Guhila Kings that none, even in distress, was to use anything produced from lands donated to the brāhmaṇas by the Guhila Kings.[58] It is significant that this record, essentially a royal *praśasti*, also provides a lengthy *praśasti* for a family of brāhmaṇas of Bhṛigu clan, associated with the court of Rāimalla.[59] It is for the first time in the

57. Ibid., v.87.

58. Ibid., vv.83-86.

59. Ibid., vv.127-133. `There was a brāhmaṇa named Śrī Somanātha on this earth in the family of Bhagvān Bhṛigu known throughout the world, devoted like a wasp to the lotus-like feet of Śaṅkara, performing sacrifices in every vasanta. His son Narahari, who was like the Sun to the grave of the lotus-like science of Anvikshikā, was Hari incarnate, and being the illustrious abode of the four vedas, was a Brahma on earth. Like Manu from the Sun, Sūrya from Kāśyapa, Bhṛigu from Brahma, the moon from the ocean, Śrī Keśava, of incalculate fame, a lion to all opponents, known by the name of Jhotiṅga, was born from Narahari. His son Atri who was the abode of virtues, was above all the wise and the learned, was possessed of prodigious intelligence feasting upon the essence of the Mimāṁsās, was a genius in the poetic art, lived as a leader of the Brāhmaṇas of the Daśapura caste, and was highly esteemed by the lord Kumbha, the Sun of the large forest of the lotuses of the line of Guhila Maheśa son of Atri, who is in the court of Rājamalla bravely conducts himself against those who contest with him as a mad elephant does against trees. Maheśvara, son of Atri, whose style of composition is acknowledged by these verses in the high way of poetic composition, who is the poet of King Rājamalla, and who is a man of good parts and knowledge, added this eulogistic poem to the collection already existing poem full of heroic sentiments and placed in the five temple which is beautiful in its new arrangement. May this eulogy which is like another creeper of the fame of lord Rājamalla, made by me wishing his rule to last as long as the earth bears the beauty of the crest-jewel, of Ahindra (Śesha) as long as Śrīkuṇṭha (Śaṅkara) bears on his head Tushāra-trishā (the moon), as long as Hari bears the (sign of) Śrī Vatsa on his chest, and as long as the ocean contains water, prosper in all its splen-

history of Mewar that we have such a long *praśasti* for the brāhmaṇas in a royal document. The trend undoubtedly points to the greater role of the brāhmaṇas in the late fifteenth century Guhila court as they provided a new (and pompous) origin-status, Sūryavaṁśa, to the Guhila Kings at a time when the state emerged as one of the biggest regional powers in western India.

III

Since the brāhmaṇas created the origin myths for their Guhila patrons, we shall now try and analyse the origin myths of the Guhilas. A chronological study of the evolution and shifts in the Guhila origin myths helps us in situating the Guhilas in the history of Mewar. Shifts in the Guhila origin myths reveal stages of state formation, and hence the political career of the Guhilas, their territorial domains, their rise to power, and finally the emergence of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila dynasty as a formidable regional power in Western India.

The Guhilas of Dhavagartā known from the Dabok inscription of A.D. 644 claim only a simple family name, Guhila. There is no mention of any origin-claim about Guhila Dhanika in this private record of a local kāyastha family. Nor does Guhila Dhanika bear any political title. Instead, this inscription refers to the contemporary Morī king Śrī Dhavalappadeva as Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja - Parameśvara.[60] This clearly indicates a difference in political status. The area of control of Guhila Dhanika was obviously limited, given the occupation of other nuclear regions of Mewar by the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa and Kiṣkindhā and by the Morīs of Chittaurgarh in the seventh century. Guhila Dhanika was a local chief controlling the area around the village of Dhavagartā,[61] including smaller rural settlements. It is also evident that Guhila Dhanika functioned as a subordinate ally of the Morī sovereign; he was probably a local chief and had not attained monarchical status in the period.

...Continued...

dour'.

60. oc. cit., 1.1.

61. Ibid., 1.2.

Reference to his lineage or family name simply as Guhila, without elaboration, proves that the Guhilas of Dhavagartā in the seventh century had a limited political status.

The Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa initially known from the Samoli inscription of A.D.646 and the Udaipur *praśasti* of A.D. 661 significantly do not refer to their overlords nor bear any politically subordinate title. Yet they refer to themselves only as *Guhilānvaya* (belonging to the lineage of the Guhila).[62] Although silence about an overlord may indicate a comparatively independent position, it has already been reiterated that the title of Rāval for the legendary Bappa indicates a politically subordinate status for the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas in the seventh-eighth centuries, as their territorial control was confined to the central parts of Mewar hills, and the hill and forest tract of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa belt. Resources were largely rural-centred and attempts had been initiated to mobilize natural resources and bring land in the tribal tracts of the core area under cultivation. In the forest and hills of the core-area resources were restricted in this early period. Yet it is significant that the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa emphasized upon their lineage identity and eulogised it as a "glorious one" in their seventh century official record.[63] Such attempts definitely reflect a concern to proclaim itself "royal" and distinct from rest of local society. In the absence of a reference to origins, however, we can only infer that these were the beginnings of the process of state formation.

The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, known from their five inscriptional records (four official charters and one private record), also do not lay claims to high-sounding ancestry. Similar to the contemporary Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas, they refer to their family as *Guhilaputrānvaye*[64] or simply *Kiṣkindhipurāt Guhila-narādhipa-vaṁśe*.[65] Their limited political status is clearly testified by titles such as *Avapta-aśeṣa-mahāśabda, Samādhigata-pañcamahāśabda* and *Samupārjitapañca-*

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62. Udaipur *praśasti*, op. cit., v.3.

63. Ibid.

64. Grants of Bhāvihita, op. cit., 1.2.

65. Grants of Bābhaṭa, op. cit., 1.1.

mahāsábda,[66] usually used by the subordinate rulers. They were evidently controlling a limited territorial unit in the southern Mewar hills, bordering the district of Dungarpur. Although they enjoyed a considerable rural base, resources were still limited in view of the hilly and forested nature of Kiṣkindhā. Thus all three Guhila ruling families in the seventh-eight centuries are likely to have functioned as *sāmantas* of the Morīs of Chittaurgarh, even as the Kiṣkindhā Guhilas project their royal status through association of *narādhipa* (king) with their lineage-identity *Guhilavaṁsá*.[67] Similarly the Guhilas of Chatsu, known from their Nāgar inscription of A.D. 684, controlling a limited locality in Tonk district under the formal sway of the Morīs, also referred to themselves as Guhila and nothing more.[68]

The rise of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas to significant political heights is clearly reflected in the new origin claims made in their tenth and eleventh century official records. In contrast to the simple claim of *Guhilānvaya* of the seventh century, the Āṭpura inscription of A.D. 977 speaks of the progenitor Guhadatta as a brāhmaṇa belonging to a family of Ānandapura (*Ānandapura Vinirgata Viprakulā-nandanoh-Mahīdeva, jayati śrī Guhadattah pravavah Guhila vaṁśasya*).[69] Ānandapura is identified with present Vadnagar in Idar, north-eastern Gujarat. The Kadmal plate of A.D. 1083 also repeats the same claim.[70] Simultaneously, a long genealogical list of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas also appears for the first time in the Āṭpura record listing Guhila Kings from Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra.[71] Thus we find that the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas made claims to brāhmaṇa origin for the first time in the tenth century. The process of legitimation had begun to work. *Guhilānvaya* was no longer an adequate label, especially with control over more territory (as

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66. Ibid., 1.9.

67. Ibid., 1.1.

68. D.C. Sircar, Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, op. cit., pp.31-32.

69. op. cit., v.1.

70. op. cit., vv.1-2.

71. op. cit., vv.1-9.

testified by the disappearance of Kiṣkindhā Guhilas after the eighth century). The Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas had evidently integrated southern part of Mewar hills into their kingdom by the ninth century. Not only had their power been enhanced territorially but organizationally also the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa dynasty had consolidated their political hold. If Pratīhāras and Hūṇa Rajputs had been inducted into the emerging political structure from outside the state, important local and neighbouring ruling families such as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍī (Godwar), the Paramāras, and Caulukyas had also been integrated by the tenth century.[72] Political links were cemented by matrimonial alliances.[73] It is significant to note that Guhila king Bhartṛpaṭṭa II bears the title of *mahārājādhirāja* (king of kings) in Pratapgarh record of the reign of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II.[74] Also, a contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa record from Hastikuṇḍī refers to the reigning Guhila King of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa as the "lord of the Gurjaras" and "Āghaṭa (the Guhila capital of Āṭpura), the pride of Medapāṭa".[75] It was no small military achievement that Guhila Allaṭa had decisively defeated Pratīhāra Devapāla (Kanauj).[76] Thus the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas not only figured in the records of the contemporary Rajput powers for the first time in the tenth century, they were also perceived as the "lord" of Medapāṭa (the entire region of Mewar) and Gurjaras.

If the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas claimed brāhmaṇa origin in the tenth-eleventh centuries, the Guhilas of Chatsu claimed *brahmakṣatrānvitā (brahma-kṣatra)* origin and retained their family-name, Guhilavaṁśa in the ninth century.[77] The Guhilas of Chatsu had emerged as a significant political ally of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj in eastern Rajasthan by this peri-

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72. Ibid., vv.3-8. Also see Saraneśvara inscription of A.D. 942, for the Hūṇa & Pratīhāra functionaries, op. cit., vv.6-7.

73. Āṭpura inscription, ibid., vv.3-8.

74. op. cit., Part III, p.187, 1.28.

75. EI, Vol.X, pp.20-24.

76. G.H. Ojha, URI, op. .cit., p.124, f.n.3.

77. *Chatsu inscription of Guhila Balāditya*, op. cit., v.6.

od. Their recent political and military growth, extended territorial control and social links with some of the contemporary leading Rajput lineages like the Paramāras and the Cāhamānas, explain their claim to the *brahma-kṣatra* origin. In contrast, the Guhilas of Māṅgrol (Kathiawar), Unstra (district Jodhpur) and Nāḍol (Godwar) referred to themselves simply as *Guhila* as late as the twelfth century. The Guhilas of Unstra[78] and Nāḍol[79] were small local chiefs controlling very limited pockets and resources, whereas the Guhilas of Māṅgrol had risen in their political career in Saurashtra in the dominion of the Caulukyan state. Their political subordination to the Caulukyas of Gujarat is clearly evident in Guhila Mūlaka's title, *Saurāṣṭranāyaka*. Therefore, the Guhilas of Māṅgrol, in spite of their considrable political power in Saurashtra in the twelfth century, were never the focus of a local state but an integral part of the Caulukyan polity.

In view of the above study it is necessary to review the opinion of D.R. Bhandarkar about Nāgar brāhmaṇa origins of the Guhilas of Mewar (Nāgdā-Āhaḍa).[80] This fails to explain either *Guhilānvaya* status of the seventh century or *brahmakṣatra* status of the thirteenth century,[81] or Sūryavaṁśa status of the sixteenth century for the same family of Guhilas.[82] The claim to brāhmaṇa origin made by the Guhilas for the first time in the tenth century should be considered as legitimation of the emerging sub-regional state in the Mewar hills. The motif of Ānandapura may suggest the presence of Nāgar brāhmaṇas at the Guhila court in the tenth century. Hence, the claim to brāhmaṇa origin took place only at one point of time. The theme of migration facilitated the predominance of the Guhilas in an area occupied by

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78. Memorial Stone inscription of A.D. 1179-80, op. cit.

79. Nāḍol Cāhamāna inscription of A.D. 1137-38, op. cit.

80. D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', IA, Vol.XL, p.35.

81. Achaleśvara inscription, ibid., vv.9-10.

82. Nādlāi Adināth temple inscription of A.D. 1500, op. cit., v.13.

Bhils as well as non-Guhila Rajput chiefs.[83]

The thirteenth century marks a decisive stage. The Guhilas now transferred their capital from Nāgdā-Āhaḍa to Chittaurgarh. They claimed *brahma-kṣatra* status for the first time in the thirteenth century (instead of a brāhmaṇa origin as in the tenth-eleventh centuries). Along with the new origin-status came the new motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa. If Bappa is called a brāhmaṇa in the Chittaurgarh inscription of A.D. 1274 (`May the city of Nāgahrda be victorious... coming from which brāhmaṇa Bappa...'),[84] Bappa is credited with the new status of *brahma-kṣatra* in the Achaleśvara inscription. `Assuredly from brāhmaṇa-like Hārīta, Bappaka obtained, in the shape of an anklet, the lustre of kṣatriya (kṣatriyahood) and gave the sage his devotion, his own Brāhmaṇical lustre (brāhmaṇa-hood or merits) he had obtained as a brāhmaṇa'.[85] Thus was legitimized the kṣatriya role of the Guhilas. The transition from brāhmaṇa origin to prestigious *brahma-kṣatra* is obviously reflective of greater power as sovereigns of Mewar. Although they acquired Chittaurgarh, the political landmark of Mewar, mere fresh territorial possessions could not legitimize the new Guhila political status. It was equally necessary to claim a new social status befitting the newly achieved political and military status. It is the kṣatriya status that legitimizes territorial and military achieve-

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83. Romila Thapar generalizes the importance of the theme of migration that facilitated the establishment of new dynasties. See, `Origin Myths and the Early Indian Historical Tradition' in her Ancient Indian Social History, op. cit., p.321. `The theme of migration, often disguised as exile, sets the geographical dimensions of the social group and can be used to establish rights and priority of a particular group over a particular region. This assumes significance in periods when new groups are moving in as entrepreneurs in either previously occupied areas or in newly opened up lands.... Those who succeeded in estalishing new dynasties would either have to link themselves genealogically with the descent groups, who were already associated with the area or else would have to introduce the idea of migration'.

84. op. cit., v.8.

85. Achaleśvara inscription, op. cit., v.11.

ments. Hence, the necessity of *brahma-kṣatra* in the thirteenth century. Guhila claims to *brahma-kṣatra* status at this stage reminds us of the Pallavas of Kanchipuram and the Karṇātas of Mithila who also claimed *brahma-ksatra* status at the height of their political career. B.D. Chattopadhyaya observes,

> `when one looks at the different stages in which the genealogies were being formulated, it further appears that for the majority of the newly emerging royal lines, "Brahma-Kṣatra" was a transitional status, which once acquired was not however, entirely given up and explanations continued to be given for the supposedly authentic transition from Brāhmaṇa to Kṣatriya status.... It may also well be that the "Brahma-Kṣatra" was a relatively open status as can be gathered from its wide currency in India in this period, which was seized upon by the new royal families before they could formulate a claim to pure Kṣatriya origin'.[86]

Jaiswal also points out that "the category of Brahma-Kṣatra" seems to have a multiple origin.[87]

The Guhila hold over Chittaurgarh had to be legitimized more elaborately because the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas never actually conquered the mighty fortress before Jaitrasimha's period. Moreover, the conquest of Chittaurgarh meant Guhila sovereignty all over Mewar. From the legends of "Sri Bappaka in Nagahrda",[88] were created the legends of "Bappa, Hārītarāśi and Ekaliṅga in Medapāṭa and Citrakūṭa" in the thirteenth century. It was officially claimed that Bappa, the progenitor of the lineage obtained regality over Mewar through the grace of the Pāśupata ācārya, Hārītarāśi.[89] Finally, it is Bappa, the brahma-Kṣatra, and not Guhadatta, who is claimed as the progenitor of the Guhila dynasty and founder of the Guhila royal power in Mewar. Guhadatta appears as Bappa's son in both Chittaurgarh and Achaleśvara inscriptions.[90]

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86. `Origin of the Rajputs', op. cit., p.69.

87. Suvira Jaiswal, `Studies in early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities', IHR, Vol.VI, 1979-80, p.32.

88. Ekaliṅgajī temple Inscription of A.D. 971, op. cit., v.5.

89. Chittaurgarh Inscriptions, op. cit., vv.9-11; Achaleśvar Inscription, op. cit., vv.10-11.

90. op. cit., vv.13 and 12.

Brahma-kṣatra status for the Guhilas in the thirteenth century served two essential political functions. Having settled at Chittaurgarh, the Guhilas confronted the Rajput chiefs of eastern Mewar (Solaṅkīs of Maṇḍalgarh, the Cāhamānas of the former Śākambharī house at Bijolia, Menal, etc., the Paramāras of Abu, and the Sonagirā-cāhamānas in the Godwar region) for the first time in their history. It was necessary to claim a social status higher or at least equal to these immediately neighbouring kṣatriya elites to facilitate matrimonial alliances. Secondly, by the early thirteenth century, they had begun to militarily confront such neighbouring powers as the Paramāras of Malwa and the Bāghelās of Gujarat as well as Delhi Sultans. Rāval Samarsiṁha's increasing military career could be further politically supported by the recently proclaimed prestigious social origin that facilitated mobilization for military purpose. The Guhilas had undoubtedly transformed themselves from rulers of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa to kings of Mewar.

The fifteenth century marked a Guhila leap towards full-fledged kṣatriyahood. The Śriṅgīṛiṣi inscription of Rāṇā Mokal proclaims Rāṇā Khetā as a jewel of the Kṣatriya race. `...his (Hammīra) son Kṣetra (who was) an ornamanetal jewel of the Kṣatriya race, the destructive fire to (his) enemies, and worthy well to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods'.[91] This shows that *brahma-kṣatra* was politically a transitional phase in the stages of state formation. Kṣatriyahood was proclaimed by the Guhilas in that stage of state formation when they had emerged not only as a leading western Indian power but also forged matrimonial links with those contemporary Rajput powers who too claimed kṣatriya status. For instance, we recall that the Guhilas themselves had referred to the Hāḍās of Eastern Mewar as the kṣatrīs of the east.[92] Moreover, claim to the status of *kṣatriyavaṁśamandanamaṇi* certainly facilitated military support from the local Rajput powers that helped transforming the fifteenth century Guhilas into a major

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91. Śriṅgīṛiṣi inscription, op. cit., v.5 `... *Kṣetram Kṣatriyavaṁśamandanamaṇim pratyarthikalanalam.*'

92. Vide Passim, Ch.III, see Political and Social Links with the Hāḍās.

political power. Later on, Mughal sources such as the *Akbarnama* and *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* mention the military career of Rāṇā Sāṅgā.[93] By the fifteenth century the Guhilas were not only looked upon as a regional power but also perceived as a front-ranking western Indian power.

As kṣatriyahood evolved from *brahma-kṣatra*, similarly the motif of Bappa of the thirteenth century, the legendary founder of Guhila royal power in Mewar, got transformed into *Bappavaṁśa/Bappajavaṁśa* by the fifteenth century. By the fifteenth century, the royal family changed its family name from *Guhila Vaṁśa* to *Bappajavaṁśa*. Śriṅgīṛiṣi inscription refers to the Guhila Kings belonging to *Bappajavaṁśa* (lineage of Bappa).[94] The fact that the new Guhila claim had become widely popular is evident from a contemporary Jain record, the Ranakpur *praśasti*. This begins the genealogical list with Bappa, the King of Mewar (*Śrīmedapāṭarājādhirāja Śrī Bappa*)[95] and refers to Sri Guhila as Bappa's son.[96]

Finally, at the turn of the fifteenth century the Guhilas made their claim even more specific from kṣatriyahood to Sūryavaṁśa origin. A Jain record, Nādlāi Adinath temple inscription of A.D. 1500 refers to the lineage of the Guhilas as *Sūryavaṁśīyamahārājādhirāja śrī śīlādityavaṁśe*.[97] The ruling dynasty must have started claiming *sūryavaṁśa* status enhanced further by the ancestry of the *adityas* (solar lineage), before the end of the fifteenth century.

However, some important royal adjustments took place in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* repeats the Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa legends (*Bappa Hārītarāśi Ekaliṅgaprasāda*).[98] Bappa is called *purāṇapuruṣah*, the original progenitor or founder of

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93. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, Vol.IV, op. cit., pp.259-61.

94. op. cit., v.2; Ekaliṅga Temple Dakṣiṇa dvāra praśasti refers to Bāṣpanva, op. cit., v.8.

95. op. cit., 1.2.

96. Ibid.

97. op. cit., 1.13.

98. 4th Slab, op. cit., v.123.

the Guhila dynasty.[99] Rāval Śrī Guhadatta is retained as Bappa's son.[100] Thus the kings are stated to be named after Bappa's son Guhadatta (*sa nṛipatih Guhilābhidhāno*).

By the early sixteenth century Guhadatta's original role as progenitor of the Guhila royal family had been internalized. The Jain Nādlāi inscription lists Guhadatta as the progenitor of the royal dynasty of Mewar while *Rāulā* Śrī Bappaka follows as Guhila's son.[101] In fact, standardization of the tradition of Guhadatta as progenitor and Rāval Bappa as founder seem to have begun by the early sixteenth century, as most of the seventeenth century official sources conformed to this pattern with further enhancement of the *Sūryavaṁśa* status to *Ikṣavāku* ancestory (Rāmachandra's lineage).[102]

IV

Cults of both local goddesses and of Śiva had become popular in the seventh century in Mewar. The Dabok inscription of A.D. 644 attests to the and patronage of the cults of Maheśvara (Śiva) and Ghaṭṭavāsinī (the goddess residing in the pot) by a local kāyastha family through land and cash grants in Dhavagartā locality near Chittaurgarh.[103] At this stage it is important to note that the process of identification of a local goddess, Ghaṭṭavāsinī with Dūrgā, the mother goddess, had already taken place in the seventh century in the upper Banas plain. The direct identification is evident in the inscriptional reference to *Ghaṭṭavāsinī nāmnā Dūrgādevya* (Dūrgādevī by the name of Ghaṭṭavāsinī).[104] Such identification follows appropriation of Ghaṭṭavāsinī by

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99. Ibid., v.124.

100. Ibid., v.127.

101. Ibid.

102. Vide Passim, Ch.6.

103. op. cit., ll.1-5, 12.

104. Dabok inscription, op. cit., l.2.

the brāhmaṇa priests and its installation in the temple.[105] The record also pays obeisance to goddess Çandikā (Dūrgā).[106] The cult of Śiva was also patronized by the ruling elite in Upper Banas plain in this period. One of the predecessors of king Māna Morī of Chittaur is called Maheśvara (Śiva) in his Manosarovar inscription.[107] An inscription from eighth century Chittaurgarh records the erection of the temple of Kukkureśvara Mahādeva by King Kukkureśvara.[108] Popularity of the cult of Śiva in early medieval Chittaurgarh is evident from such royal patronage. An ancient temple of Kālikā belonging to the seventh-eighth centuries has also been discovered in the fortress of Chittaur.[109]

The cult of Śiva appears equally popular in the hilly-forest-tribal locality of Kiṣkindhā. The Guhila King Bhāvihita describes himself as a Paramamāheśvara (a devout worshipper of Śiva).[110] The earliest direct evidence of royal patronage to the Śaiva sects comes from the Kiṣkindhā locality. The Kalyanpur fragmentary inscription of King Padda (early eighth century) records the construction of a temple of Śiva by Guhila Kadacchī's queen Voṇṇa who was assisted in the pious work by her preceptor, a Śaiva, called Kutukkācārya.[111] Royal patronage obviously followed popular predecence of local patronage to the local Śaiva temples. A Śaiva temple of the seventh-eighth century exists in Kalyan-

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105. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Reappearance" of the Goddess or the Brāhmaṇical Mode of Appropriation: `Some Early Epigraphic Evidence bearing on Goddess Cults', G.D. Sontheimer Memorial Symposium, An Integrated View of indian Culture (unpublished Symposium Paper), New Delhi, 1994, pp.2-3.

106. Dabok Inscription, op. cit., 1.1.

107. op. cit.

108. RTA, op. cit., p.240.

109. Author's Field-trip to Chittaurgarh.

110. Grant of Bhāvihita, op. cit., v.1.

111. op. cit., v.4.

pur where Caturmukha Sivalinga is presently worshipped.[112]

In contrast, Mewar hills, the core-area of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas interestingly records no inscriptional reference in the seventh century to any temple of Śiva, let alone presence of any Saiva sect. The earliest record of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas, Samoli inscription of the reign of King Śīlāditya, registers the construction of the temple of goddess Araṇyavāsinī by a migrating community of *mahājanas* at Araṇyakūpagiri.[113] But unlike the contemporary Dhavagartā tradition, The Samoli record does not refer to Araṇyavāsinī as a form of Dūrgā. But Araṇyavāsiṇī (the goddess who dwells in the forest) presumably the goddess initially associated with the tribal Bhils, was installed in a newly constructed temple. The construction of the temple of Aranyavasini certainly points the penetration of the state-society into the tribal pockets. The Somali record, which contains a *praśasti* of the Guhila King Śīlāditya,[114] also supported the royal cause in the Bhil dominion. Popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu amongst the members of the ruling elite in the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa state is evident from the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu. Udaipur *praśasti* of the reign of King Aparājita is a private record belonging to his commander-in-chief Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha. It records the construction and patronage of a temple of Viṣṇu by Varāhasiṁha's wife, Yaśomatī.[115] Thus, unlike Upper Banas plain and southern Mewar hills, Nāgdā-Āhaḍa belt of Mewar hills show evidence of popularity of the cults of local goddess Araṇyavāsinī in the tribal pockets and Viṣṇu in the core-areas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa state.

An important development takes place in the Mewar hills by the tenth century. The Guhila state of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa had emerged as an important political power. Now appeared the most crucial mechanism for legitimation, royal affiliation to a local cult centre. Unlike the seventh century, the

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112. Rajshekhar Vyas, Mevār Kī Kalā aur Sthāpatya, Jaipur, 1988, p.77.

113. op. cit., ll.8-10.

114. Ibid., ll.4-5.

115. op. cit., vv.6-8.

cult of Śiva figures on a significant scale in Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila records of the tenth century. The Pāśupatas, one of the major contemporary Śaiva sects, also appear for the first time in the same royal records. This indicates that the Pāśupatas (who always had a strong institutional base outside Mewar)[116] had successfully not only established the cult of Śiva but also themselves as a locally popular, influential religious sect. However, the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa did not seem to have been in urgent need of legitimation before the tenth century. This point is supported by the fact that the royal temple of Ekaliṅgajī (Śiva) at the Pāśupata centre of Nāgdā came to be constructed for the first time in A.D. 971.[117] On the other hand, Pāśupatas seem to have emerged as an important religious community in the Mewar hills before the mid-tenth century.

The interdependence of the sacred and the temporal is as gradual as any other process of state formation. A number of royal temples of the cult of Śiva came to be constructed only from the tenth century onwards, and it is also possible to speculate that the Pāśupatas were looking for royal support. It is significant that the Pāśupatas claim victory over the Jains in the Ekaliṅgajī temple inscription of A.D. 971 (the very first record from Mewar mentioning the Pāśupatas).[118] This may allude to their attempts at establishing their superiority over the Jains to strengthen bonds with the royal court. The process culminated in the construction of the royal temple of god Ekaliṅga at Nāgdā in A.D. 971 in the reign of Guhila King Naravāhana. The temple is stated to have been constructed at the instruction of such Pāśupata *ācāryas* as Supujitarāśi, Viṁ-

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116. Contemporary Pasupata *mathas* such as Caṇḍīkāśram at Ujjain (IA, Vol.XI, pp.220-23), Sītalaśvara Mahādeva at Chandrabhaga, Jhalrapatan originating in the seventh century (A. Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana, Archaeological Survey of India, 1883-84, Calcutta, pp.125-31), etc., speak for the establishment of the Pāśupatas in early medieval Rajasthan.

117. Ekaliṅgajī Temple Inscription of the reign of naravāhana, op. cit.

118. Ibid., V. 17

śaitaraśi, etc.[119] The Ekalingajī temple inscription of A.D. 971 is also the first epigraphical record in southern Rajasthan which contains the Kāyāvarohana episode, the origin story of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect,[120] describing Śiva incarnating himself at Kāyāvarohana in Bhṛgukacchha. The incarnation evidently refers to Lakulīśa, the founder of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata doctrine of Śaivism. He was followed by his disciples Kuśika and others. This inscription, which eulogizes the reigning King Naravāhana, significantly states that Śrī Bappaka of Guhila *gotra* established himself at Nāgahrda.[121] The inscription seems to establish the following facts. First, Nāgahrda (Nāgdā) had emerged as a centre of the Pāśupatas. Second, the Pāśupata sect had come to enjoy the patronage of the Guhilas of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa. Third, the royal patronage of the Pāśupata sect and the consequent legitimation of the Guhila power seem to have begun on a significant scale by the tenth century. Therefore the process can be expected to have picked up momentum in the following period, in which the Guhila state integrated Mewar into a single regional power. Fourth, Bappa, the legendary founder of the state of Mewar, not only figures for the first time in the official records of the period but also figures in association with Nāgahrda, the Pāśupata centre. Fifth, Guhadatta of the tenth-eleventh century records is in no way associated either with Nāgahrda or the Pāśupata *acaryas*. Sixth, neither Bappa nor any Pāśupata *ācārya* is in any capacity associated with the sovereignty of Mewar at this stage. There is no mention of Mewar in the Ekalingajī temple inscription, but there is significant reference to, and *praśasti* of Nāgahrda, the Pāśupata centre. Finally, the Pāśupatas began to link their seat of power, Nāgahrda, with a legendary figure of royal stature, Śrī Bappaka, to claim royal patronage.

Therefore in all likelihood the legend of "Bappaka in Nāgahrda" was the creation of the Pāśupata sect to highlight the ancient association of Nāgahrda, the Pāśupata centre, with a mythical king of the past. In this connection it may

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119. Ibid., v.21.

120. Ibid., vv.9-11.

121. Ibid., v.5.

be noted that early medieval inscriptions of *sāmanta* ruler Aṁśuvarmā of Nepal also contains the expression *Bappa* in the meaning of father.[122] The ruler was undoubtedly associated with the Paśupatināth temple and the Pāśupata *ācāryas*. A mythical king with local roots can certainly be popularized, and *Bappa* is a generic term. *Bappa* was not the actual name of any Guhila prince of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa house. It appears in no epigraphical record except in the Ekaliṅgajī temple inscription. *Bappa* literally means father or father-like figure. Since Nāgahrda (Nāgdā) was also the first capital of the Guhilas, any mythical king of the past who, it is claimed, flourished at Nāgahrda was obviously going to be identified with an ancient Guhila king of the region. The very mention of Bappaka in an official record at this juncture would assume that the legend of "Bappaka in Nāgahrda" must have begun to circulate among the different communities of the area and herein lies the legitimising role of the Pāśupata sect.

Legends had begun to be created by the Pāśupatas for legitimizing the rule of their patrons. Since Nāgahrda had come to acquire the status of a religious landmark in the region, it was equally important for the Guhilas to associate themselves with it and its protagonists, the Pāśupatas. Thus, with the legend of "Bappaka in Nāgahrda", the Guhilas began their affiliation to Ekaliṅga and the Pāśupatas. Affiliation to a religious landmark was the most appropriate mechanism to legitimize royal power. As the pilgrimage flow to Nāgahrda continued to increase over the period, the Pāśupata *ācāryas* had begun to popularize appropriate legends. The part of the popular annals depicting Bāppā Rāval, the Guhila king of ancient Nāgdā, as the disciple of Ekaliṅgajī, had already been built up.

The influence of the Pāśupatas in the tenth century is further evident in a stone inscription of Naravāhana (A.D. 971) at the temple of Nātha (near Ekaliṅgajī temple): 'They [Guhilas] sought the protection of Śaṅkara, lord of Pārvatī... who favoured Bhṛgukacchca.... There came Kuśika and other muṇis, who possessing knowledge and pure bodies

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122. D.R. Regmi (ed.), Inscription Nos.LXXVI-LXXVII in Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, Vol.II, New Delhi, 1983, pp.48-49.

took delight in bhasma [ashes] and put on the barks of trees and crowns of Jaṭā [braided hair].[123] In this record the Guhilas are mentioned in direct association with the Pasupatas. The story of the Lakulisa-Pasupata in fact begins at Bhṛgukacccha.

With the royal Ekaliṅga temple, there began the period of the construction of temples of Śiva by the Guhila rulers. For instance, a marble slab inscription of king Śucivarman (tenth century) records the construction of the temple of Rahileśvara (other name of Śucivarman) at Āhaḍa.[124] The presence of other Pāśupata *maṭhas* at Paldi near Udaipur[125] and at Achalgarh in Mount Abu[126] patronized by the Guhilas are evident from inscriptional records. The Paldi inscription of the early twelfth century also contains the origin story of the Lakulīśa sect and a list of their chief *acaryas*.[127] Some of the Pāśupata *ācaryas* from Paldi *maṭha* are listed as follows: Khaṇḍeśvara, Janakarāśi, Trilochanarāśi, Vasantarāśi, Valkala and Śivaśakti.[128] A number of images of Lakulīśa have been reported from Bijolia and Menal localities of the upper Banas plain.[129] Notable examples are of Hajāreśvara and Undeśvara temples at Bijolia. Both the temples have a number of images of Śiva with a *lakuṭa* or club in the left hand.[130] Two four-armed Lakulīśa images, dated around the eighth-ninth centuries,[131] and a standing

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123. 'A stone inscription in the temple of Hastamātā, Udaipur (dated in the eighth decade of A.D. 10th century)' in A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, op. cit., p.73, 1.5.

124. ARIE, 1963-64, see Ch. Rajasthan, p.103.

125. Paldi inscription, op. cit., vv.11-14.

126. Achaleśvara temple inscription, op. cit., vv.55-57.

127. Paldi inscription, op. cit., vv.11-14.

128. Ibid.

129. PRAS, WC, 1905, pp.54-59.

130. Ibid.

131. R.C. Agarwal, 'Two standing Lakulīśa sculptures from Rajasthan', Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol.XIV, Nos.1-4, 1965, p.388ff.

statue of Lakulīśa[132] have been reported from Chittaur, while a number of statues of Śiva fashioned in the form of *Urddhavaretās* have been discovered at ancient Kiṣkindhā.[133] On the other hand, a number of seated four-armed Lakulīśa figures have been found in Kota and Jhalawar districts of Hadoti region, the south-eastern neighbour of Mewar.[134] Since most of these sculptures have been dated between the eighth and twelfth centuries,[135] the Guhilas must have patronized some sculptural activity.

The profusion of Lakulīśa images and Pāśupata motifs at Ekaliṅgajī temple undoubtedly speaks for its construction under the instructions of the Pāśupata ācāryas. This reminds us of *Devangana* Desai's observations on the *Lakṣmaṇa* temple at Khajuraho (a Vaiṣṇava shrine). 'Its systematically planned architecture and sculptural scheme indicates the role of a competent architect (sutradhāra) and also a religious ācārya learned in the Pañcarātra Vaishnava tradition who must have guided the architect'.[136]

To legitmize Guhila hold on Chittaur, the motif of Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi was adopted in the thirteenth-century. The popular traditions of Mewar regarding the bestowal of the kingship of Mewar or Citrakūṭa on Bappa (the legendary founder of Mewar state), by Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi (a devout worshipper of god Ekaliṅga), is officially claimed by the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas for the first time in the thirteenth century. Both the Achaleśvara and Chittaurgarh inscriptions of Rāval Samarasiṁha in the late thirteenth century claim Hārītarāśi, the preceptor of Bappa, as the bestower of regal fortunes of *Medapāṭa deśa*, facilitated by the favour of god Ekaliṅga. To quote the Achaleśvara inscription, '[The region] which has excelled paradise

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132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

135. PRAS, WC, 1905, pp.54-59.

136. Devanagana Desai, "The Patronage of the Lakshmana Temple at Khajuraho" in Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.), The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture, Delhi, 1992, p.83.

itself... bears the name of Śrī Medapāṭa. Here is a large town named Nāgahrda where Hārītarāśi... performed penance.... Hārīta who became united with Śiva..., granted regal fortunes to the famous Bappa in return for services rendered'.[137] Similarly, the Chittaurgarh inscription reads as follows:

> May the city of Nāgahrda be victorious... coming from which Brāhmaṇa Bappa... worshipped the two lotus-like feet of Hārītarāśi Muni.... Hārītarāśi gave Bappa five golden anklets which he has got as wonderful fruit of the favour of the lotus-like feet of Ekaliṅga.... Bappa now acquired royal fortune by the great favour of Hārītarāśi.'[138]

Thus the favour of Nāgdā, the Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi and god Ekaliṅga legitimized the hold of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas over all of Mewar as soon as they acquired Chittaurgarh and integrated the upper Banas plain to the Mewar hills. The hold over Chittaurgarh had to be legitimized because the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas never held Chittaur in the beginning of their career. It is evident from inscriptions that Chittaur belonged to the Morīs when the Guhilas began their career in the seventh century.[139] The Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas had been their subordinate allies in the seventh-eighth centuries. Hence, the need for legitimation for the Guhilas obviously arose in the thirteenth century with the acquisition of Chittaurgarh and consequent sovereignty over all of Mewar. From the legends of "Śrī Bappaka in Nāgahrda", were created the legends of Bappa, Hārītarāśi and Ekaliṅga in Mewar. The expansion of the legends associating Bappa with sovereignty over Mewar, is likely to have begun in the post-tenth century. The Paldi inscription of A.D. 1116 was already claiming the Guhila Arisiṁha as the 'King of the glory of Medapāṭa'.[140] Increasing military success in the period set the precondition for the Guhila claim to the title. But Chittaurgarh was still elusive, a feat achieved only in the thirteenth century.

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137. Achaleśvara temple inscription, op. cit., vv.7-10.

138. Chittaur inscription of Rāval Samarasiṁhadeva (A.D. 1281), vv.8-11.

139. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., see Mānosarovar Inscription in the Appendix (old Edition).

140. op. cit., vv.8-9.

It is assumed that the priests of Ekaliṅga temple, the Pāśaupata ācāryas, would narrate temple legends to pilgrims. These would then spread through the villages of Mewar. The temple town of Ekaliṅga and the Pāśupata centre of Nāgahrda had evolved as a `source of highest legitimation of royal authority'.[141] Kulke notes,

> `The political significance of the temple towns was in no way limited to their being occasionally also "royal towns". Far more important was their role as cosmic centres and sources of the highest legitimation of royal authority. Very soon the founder kings were included into the temple legends in which they were elevated to mythical heroes of the hoary past'[141]

However, we have already discussed that in the case of Mewar, the founder king Bappa was never the actual founder of the Guhila dynasty but was the creation of legitimizing agents. The legend about him seems to have been born in the temple town of Nāgahrda (Ekaliṅgajī). Bappa does not figure as `the founder king' before the thirteenth century, unlike the situation in Orissa where founder kings were included in temple legends from the beginning. Consequently, it is Bappa and not Guhadatta who is the founder of the Guhila dynasty in the thirteenth century.[143]

In a period when the Ekaliṅgajī temple at Nāgdā was emerging as a regional *tīrtha* in Mewar, the spread of the cult of Sakti was equally pervasive in contemporary Mewar. Local traders made landgrants to the temple of Vāṭayakṣiṇī-devī (goddess residing in the Banyan tree) in the village of Ghontavarṣikā belonging to the Haririṣiśvara *maṭha* of Daśapura.[144] The temple of Yogeśvarī (Dūrgā) was constructed along with that of Yogesvara (Siva) at Chirakupa near Nagda-Ekaliṅgajī by Yogeśvara, the talarakṣ. aka of Nāgdā (Ṭāmṭara-

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141. Hermann Kulke, `The early and imperial kingdom: A processual model of Integrative State Formation in early medieval India', in his State in India A.D.1000-1700, op. cit., p.29.

142. Ibid.

143. Achaḷeśvara inscription and Chittaur Inscription, v.12 and vv.10-13, respectively.

144. Pratapgarh inscription, op. cit., Part IV, v.12, 11.7-9.

da family).[145] Jagat situated in south-eastern Udaipur district (52 kilometres from Udaipur) bordering Chittaurgarh, had emerged as a dominant *tīrtha* of Ambikā (Durga) in this period. The popularity of Ambikā is borne out by the Guhila royal grants to her temple. Jagat inscriptions of Guhila King Sāmantasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1171-72 and Guhila King Jayasiṁhadeva of A.D. 1249 record the grant of *suvarṇakalaśas* to the temple of Ambikā at Jagat.[146] It is significant that the cult of Vindhyavāsinī figures for the first time in records of the thirteenth century. An inscription of the time of Rāval Sīhadadeva of Dungarpur-Guhila family dated in the late thirteenth century, records the construction of the temple of Vindhyavāsinī by one Vijaya, at Vinjhalapura in Dungarpur district.[147] Interestingly, popular patronage of local goddesses continued to appear in the mining centres and hilly terrain. The Kankroli (near Dariba mines) road-station inscription of the reign of Rāval Samarasiṁha (A.D. 1298-99) records the grant of few dramma coins to a temple of the local goddess.[148]

Thus recorded references to the local goddesses Araṇyavāsinī,[149] Ghaṭṭavāsinī,[150]

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145. Chiravā inscription, op. cit., v.2.

146. ARRM, 1915, p.3. Also see Rajshekhar Vyas, op. cit., pp.85-88; R.C. Agrawal, "Early Sculptural Art of Mewar" in D.L. Paliwal (ed.), Mewar Through the Ages, op. cit., p.15. Temple of Ambikā at Jagat is traced back to the tenth century. The Mahiṣamardini Dūrgā stands out of all temple sculptures here. The other outstanding image is that of Nārāyaṇī-Vaiṣṇavī in the posture of a Camuṇḍā. On the exterior wall of Sabhāmaṇḍapa, there is an exquisite figure of Subhahaṁtrī Dūrgā and the temple abounds in beautiful images of Sarasvatī, Godhāsana, Gaurī, Cāmuṇḍā, etc. Some of the motifs here are supposed to betray tāntrik traditions so much so that Jagat has also earned the epithet of `Khajuraho of Rajasthan'.

147. ARRM, op. cit., p.3.

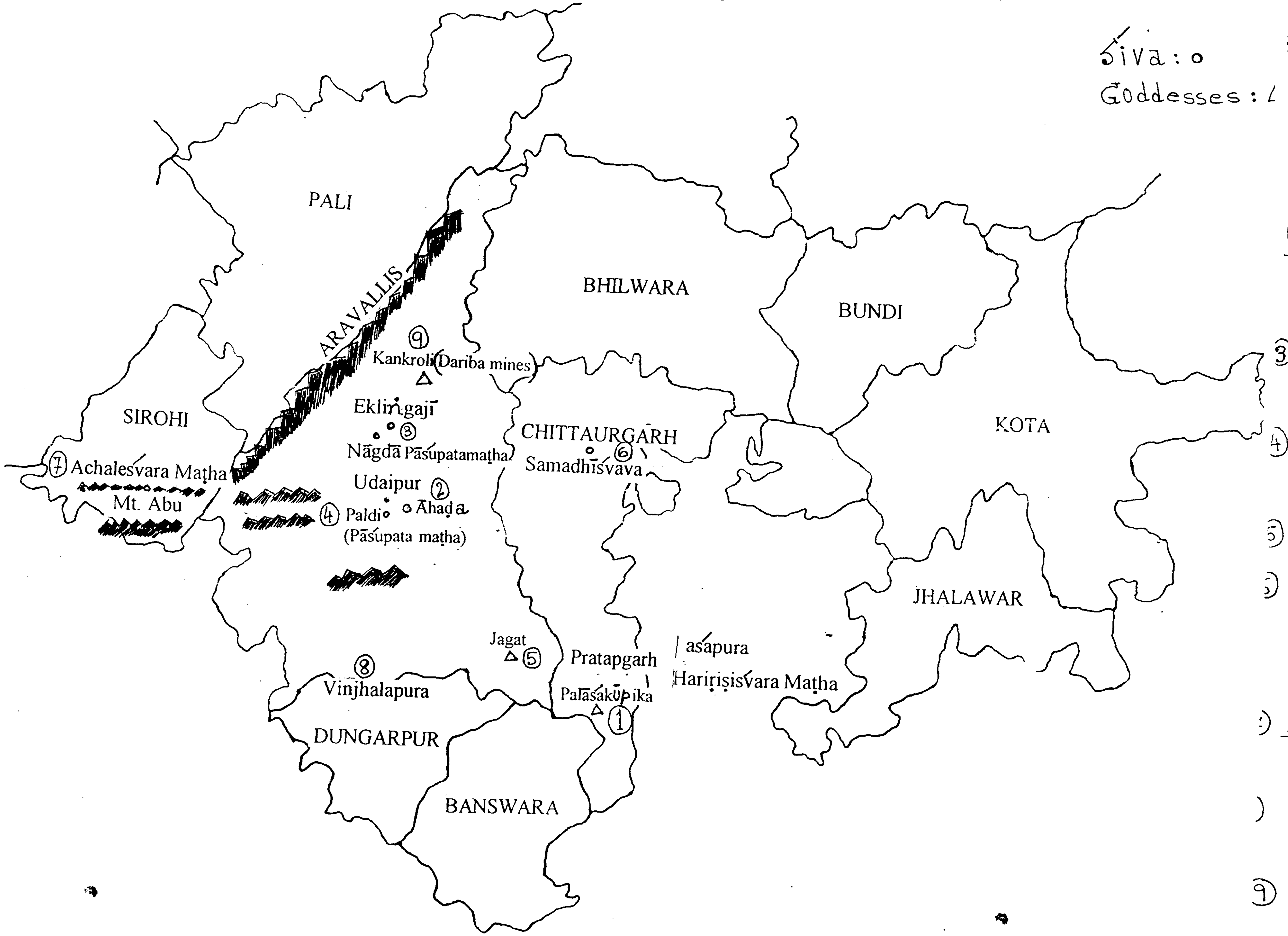
148. URI, op. cit., p.177.

149. Samoli inscription, op. cit., 1.9.

150. Dabok inscription, op. cit., 1.4.

Śiva: o Goddesses: Δ

Temples in the Guhila Territory Inscriptionally Located AD 10 th - 13 th Centuries



① Vāṭayakṣiṇīdevī: Guhila Grants in A.D. 942.

② Ādivarāha: Guhila Grants in A.D. 953

Nānigasvāmī: Temple built by the Guhilas in A.D. 977

Sūrya: Private Grants in Guhila Śaktikumār's reign (late A.D. 10th Century).

Kahileśvara: Temple built by the Guhilas in the Late A.D. 10th century.

③ Ekalinga Mahādeva: Temple built by the Guhilas in A.D. 971.

④ Pāśupata Maṭha and the Guhila Patronage in A.D. 1116.

⑤ Ambādevī: Guhila Grants in A.D. 1171-72.

⑥ Samadhīśvara Mahādeva: Patronized by the chief bard at the Guhila court, Vedaśarma in Late A.D. 13th century.

⑦ Achaleśvara Mahādeva and Pāśupata Maṭha: Guhila Grants in A.D. 1285.

⑧ Vindhyavāsinī: Private Grants in Late A.D. 13th century.

⑨ Goddess (Unidentified): Private Grants in A.D. 1298-99.

Vāṭayakṣinī,[151] and Vindhyavāsinī[152] spanning the seventh to the thirteenth centuries in Mewar indicate an overall process of change: incorporation of cults, integration of localities and hence local goddesses into some of these supra-local deities. Chattopadhyaya points out, 'They do not all develop into major cults, but some do. They function towards the integration of other local cults and become one of the recognizable symbols of the region. The religious and ideological expressions of a region in their varied forms thus become enmeshed in the web of its polity, economy and society'.[153] Incorporation of local goddesses and their patronage marks the first stage in the ideological support to the process of state formation in Mewar. The fact is clearly revealed by the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* in which Vindhyavāsinī along with her associates Jayā and Vijayā, predominantes its early part,[154] followed by the second stage of royal patronage of Ekaliṅga and the Pāśupata ācaryas. The second stage corresponds to the installation of Ekaliṅga by Vindhyavāsinī at Nāgdā and spread of the cult of Śiva.[155] The third and the final stage seems to relate to the direct appropriation of the cult of Ekaliṅga by the Guhila dynasty.

The religious process of state formation in Mewar seems to have culminated in the fifteenth century, when Guhila affiliation to central deity, Ekaliṅga was sought directly bypassing the medium of Pāśupata ācārya Hārītarāśi. The process finds its expression in the title of *Ekaliṅganijasevaka* (the personal servant of Ekaliṅga). The Kumbhalgarh slab inscription of A.D. 1460 calls the reigning king, Mahārāṇā Kumbha, *Yasyaikaliṅganijasevaka* (Ekaliṅga's personal servant).[156] The same title is attributed to Mahārāṇā Kumbha in the Kumbha *Praśasti* section of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*, which describes the relationship between the king of

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151. Pratapgarh inscription, op. cit., Part IV, v.12, 1.7.

152. ARRM, op. cit.

153. The Making of Early Medieval India, op. cit., p.34.

154. Premlata Sharma (ed.), op. cit., Chs.5-6.

155. Ibid., Chs.6-19.

156. Kumbhalgarh Praśasti, 4th slab, v.239.

Mewar and god Ekaliṅga as that of the servant and master.[157] In the *Kṣīreśvara māhātmyam* section of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*, Śiva (Kṣīreśvara) is also called *Kṣetrapāla* (lord of the land of the region).[158]

The major local cult that predominates next to Ekaliṅga in *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* as well as contemporary Guhila records is that of goddess Vindhyavāsinī. A temple of Vindhyavāsinī was well-established by the fifteenth century, as the Kumbhalgarh slabs describe the temple and eulogize the goddess.[159] The fact that Vindhyavāsinī represented the goddess tradition of Mewar is evident from her predominance over Ekaliṅga in the early portions of *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*. The centrality of the cult of Vindhyavāsinī in Mewar can be perceived in the fact that in spite of the absence of mother goddess in the central pantheon in the literature of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata sect,[160] Vindhyavāsinī remains identified with Pārvatī in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*.[161] We realize that śāstric injunctions and theoretical compulsions did not always translate into the reality of historical processes. Pārvatī is not worshipped along with Ekaliṅga in the same temple.

The temple of Vindhyavāsinī figuring in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* seems to point towards an ancient temple of Vindhyavāsā (popularly known as Vanavāsinī) on the slope of the Trikūṭa hills to the north of the rampart of the Ekaliṅgajī temple. This description of Vindhyavāsinī relates more to the popular aspects of Dūrgā (killer of demons and title of Çaṇḍikā) rather than a typical local goddess. Vindhyavāsinī figures along with Ekaliṅga in a Ekaliṅga temple inscription of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1534-5) in which Pāśupata ācārya Śrī Naroharinā figures as the chief ācārya of the

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157. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.99, v.23, '*Ekaliṅgasamīpe sa rājā bhṛitya ivāparah*'.

158. Ibid., p.59.

159. Kumbhalgarh *Praśasti*, 1st slab, op. cit., vv.20-22.

160. Haripada Chakroborti, Pāśupata Sutram, Calcutta, 1970, p.17.

161. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., Chs.V-VI.

temple, engaged in an expansion of the *maṭha*.[162] The record also significantly refers to the legendary Pāśupatācārya Hārītarāśi.[163] Thus the integration of the traditions of goddesses of Mewar into the central pantheon was accomplished by the Pāśupatas. Incidentally, the sixteenth century Ekaliṅga temple inscription also proves that at least till the mid-sixteenth century Ekaliṅga temple was a Pāśupata institution.

In *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*, Vindhyavāsinī is made to install Ekaliṅga in Nāgahrda. She also instructs Bappa to worship him.[164] Hārītarāśi who worships both Vindhyavāsinī and Ekaliṅga, is instructed by Vindhyavāsinī to invoke Ekaliṅga.[165] Being invoked, Ekaliṅga confers the state of Mewar on Bappa and the abode of Kailāśa on Hārītarāśi.[166] Vindhyavāsinī is eulogized again and again in the *Māhātmyam* and the *bīja mantra* (according to tāntrik system) is imparted to the initiators.[167] The *tīrtha* of Vindhyavāsinī is known to be situated in the north of the Cakrapuṣkariṇī *tīrtha* (Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī).[168] She is stated to bless the devotees of Ekaliṅga.[169] As expected, her *tīrtha* is said to be in the forests (*Vāṭikā gahraṇye vane*).[170] Here, the best of the sages worship her after taking the ritual dip (*tatra snātvā munivaro Vindhyavāsām prapujya ca*).[171] An entire chapter is devoted in the *Māhātmyam* to her worship on a

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162. Nathulal Bhagirath Vyas, ed., Ekaliṅga maṭha Praśasti (A.D. 1535), Shodh Patrika, Vol.IX, No.1, Udaipur, v.s.2014, p.28. '*Ākāśavāsī Pāśupatācārya Śrī Narohari-nā Kāritoyam maṭhīvistārah*'.

163. Ibid.

164. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.9, v.15.

165. Ibid., p.27, vv.39, 41.

166. Ibid., p.30, vv.6, 7.

167. Ibid., p.154, vv.19, 24.

168. Ibid., p.143, vv.20, 23.

169. Ibid., vv.23, 24.

170. Ibid., v.24.

171. Ibid., v.31.

royal scale (*rājopcarānkhilān*).[172] It is significant to note that "weapons and accessories" of the goddess are also worshipped.[173] Vindhyavāsinī is worshipped on the third day, next to Ekaliṅga, in the fourteen days' annual festival of Mewar, the Caitrayātrā.[174]

It also appears that it is through Vindhyavāsinī that other local cults of mother goddesses were integrated in the fifteenth century. Jayā and Vijayā, the two associates of Pārvatī, are identified with the Banas and Gambhira rivers respectively.[175] These could signify the local goddesses of the territorial expanse between Banas and Gambhira which were identified with Pārvatī's (Vindhyavāsinī in case of Mewar) associates. The assumption is plausible in view of the absence of the local cults of Ghaṭṭavāsinī[176] or Vāṭayakṣinīdevī,[177] in the list of deities worshipped during Caitrayatra (annual yātrā to Ekaliṅgajī temple).[178] Even today, the annual fairs of Kārṇīmātā in Kunwārīyā and Bāmī Mātā (in Deogarh and Kotra tehsils respectively in Udaipur district), and Ghaṭarānī Mātājī (in Jahazpur tehsil, Bhilwara district) are important festivals in Mewar.[179] Ghaṭarānī Mātājī reminds us of goddess Ghaṭṭavāsinī of the Dabok inscription of A.D. 644.[180]

The identification of the cult of local goddesses with Parvati in Mewar is also evident from the famous festival of

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172. Ibid., p.155, v.37.

173. Ibid., v.34.

174. Ibid., p.163, vv.56, 57, '*tṛitīyāyam Vindhyavāsinī pujayet bhaktimuktidam 1 a gamoktena Vidhinā ṣoḍaṣairūpacārakaih*'.

175. Ibid., p.9, vv.17, 18, 19.

176. Dabok inscription, op. cit., vv.1-2.

177. Dabok inscription, op. cit., vv.1-2.

178. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., Ch.32.

179. Rajasthan District Gazeteers: Chittorgarh (1977), Bhilwara (1975), Udaipur (1981). See list of fairs.

180. Dabok inscription, op. cit., vv.1-2.

Gaṇagaur. *Gaṇa* stands for Śiva while *Gaur* stands for Pārvatī (also known as Gaurī). But over time the meaning of Gaṇagaur has become limited to Pārvatī. The festival of Gaṇagaur is celebrated especially in Udaipur, Nathadwara and Gogunda.[181] A procession of the image of *Gaṇagaur Mātā* is taken out for four days in Udaipur. At lake Pichhola, the *Gaṇagaur Mātā* is ritually worshipped. The convoy of *Gaṇagaur* is followed by that of Ekaliṅgajī and Ekaliṅgajī is followed by the Mahārāṇā and his *sāmantas*.[182] There are various traditions regarding the origin of Gaṇagaur. But one of the earliest traditions identifies Gaurī with a maiden of the land. Gaurī in the disguise of a girl tells her friends that the "country" (Mewar) is her father's place. Similarly, another tradition also identifies *Gaṇagaur* with a maiden of Udaipur (Virāmdas's daughter).[183] Thus the traditions attempt to trace the roots of Pārvatī in Mewar, land of a number of important cults of local goddesses. It is important that in Udaipur, the *Gaṇagaur* procession is taken out in the name of Ambāmātā as well. Inscriptions have already testified to the popularity of Ambāmātā in early medieval Mewar.[184] Gaṇagaur in Mewar is not only a state festival but is equally a popular festival -- *Īsar pūjun Pārvatī jī Rāṇyān pūje rāj men māhen pūjun evat men*.[185]

Perhaps the most obvious indicator of Vindhyavāsinī, also represented some aspects of the goddess worshipped by the Bhils, is the celebration of *Gaṇagaur* by the Bhils, specially recorded in the case of Gogunda.[186] Each Bhil girl performs a dance with a clay image of *Gaṇagaur*, dressed like a Bhil maiden, placed on her head.[187] *Gaṇagaur* is also

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181. Mahendra Bhanawat, Rājasthān Kī Gaṇagaur, Udaipur, 1977, pp.12-20.

182. Ibid., p.13.

183. Ibid., pp.4-5.

184. Jagat inscriptions of A.D. 1171-72, op. cit.

185. Ibid., pp.9-10.

186. Ibid., p.20.

187. Ibid., pp.25-26.

celebrated by the Gerāsiās, the other important tribe in southern Rajasthan. The popularity of the cult of Śiva and Pārvatī among the Bhils is also evident from their traditions and legends. It is already noted that Bhil folklore narrates the marriage of Mahādeva with a Bhil bride.[188] She evidently becomes Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva.[189] The tradition obviously highlights the popularity of the cult of Śiva among the Bhils. It is significant to note that today each Bhil clan has one *Mātā*, each with a different name such as Dhāral, Ambar, Lemāsh, Māliyā, Kārel, etc.[190] However, more significantly it should be noted that all of them have the same attributes and appear to be manifestations of one *mātā*.[191]

The *Māhātmyam* specifies the assimilation of militant Bhils through *Śivabhakti*.[192] Such specification definitely indicates the importance of the issue of integration of the Bhils to the State of Mewar. Acceptance of the cult of Śiva or the gradual popularity gained by the cult among the Bhils in the medieval period may have a significant connection with the centrality of Vindhyavāsinī along with Ekaliṅga in state formation.

Bhavānī or Durgā continued to be identified with the local goddesses in Mewar in medieval times. Tradition attests to the construction of a magnificent temple of Bhavānī known as Vijayasenī-Bhavānī.[193] Another contemporary medieval temple of Bhavānī is to be found at Sitoor in the Hāḍā dominion, eastern Mewar. The goddess is popularly

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188. P.G. Shah, op. cit., p.181.

189. Ibid.

190. J.K. Doshi, Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Bhil Village, Delhi, 1974, p.108.

191. Ibid.

192. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyaṃ, op. cit., p.144, vv.45-46, `*Bhillaiśca Vividhakārairbṛitam paramadhārmikaih Śiva bhaktirtairvīrair bhutāhiṁsādivarjitaih*'.

193. Kalyan Kumar Ganguly, Cultural History of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1983, p.168.

known as Sitoor-ka-Bhavānī.[194]

The next major role of the Pāśupatas was the creation of goddess Rāṣṭrasenā. She figures for the first time in the *Māhātmyam*. There is no mention of her in contemporary epigraphical records. The literal meaning of *Rāṣṭrasenā* is the "army of the state". She is stated to have been created out of the body of Vindhyavāsinī with war-like characteristics.[195] From the early fourteenth century onwards, Mewar was invaded again and again by the rulers of Delhi, Gujarat and Malwa. Inscriptional and literary sources of the period, including the Arabic accounts of Gujarat, illustrate the military career of Mahārāṇā Kumbha (A.D. 1433-A.D. 1468).[196] The continuous military campaigns and invasions necessitated an ideological support. The support was provided by the Pāśupatas in the form of goddess Rāṣṭrasenā. In view of the custom of the worship of warlike goddesses, recorded in the *Māhātmyam*,[197] it is possible that they adopted a local war-goddess. The success in foiling repeated military attacks helped establish the popularity of Rāṣṭrasenā. The Guhila military successes in defence as well as territorial expansion established her popularity. Thus, through the spread of the cult of Rāṣṭrasenā, the loyalty of the masses could be mustered in the periods of military venture. As the literal meaning of her name shows, loyalty to Rāṣṭrasenā would have helped in the military mobilization of men, especially tribal militias. The case of Rāṣṭrasenā may be compared with the cult of Raṇacaṇḍī of the Dimāsā state in Cachar (Assam). In the case of the Dimāsā state, the original titulary deity, Kāchai Kāṭī, was transformed into Raṇac-

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194. Tod, Annals, Vol.II, op. cit., p.539.

195. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.33, vv.15, 16.

196. Vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: Relations with the Contemporary Powers. Also see H.B. Sharda, MK, op. cit., pp.77-114.

197. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.34, v.19, `*pūjayettam Rāṣṭrasenām tadrūpam ca strīyām tathā brāhmaṇāpi sampūjya devī priṭtayai Viśiṣṭhā*'.

handī (goddess of war).[198] To quote J.B. Bhattacharjee,

> `...the hymns and verses were made available by the Brahmins for her worship. As Dimasas were then locked in prolonged wars with the Ahoms and the Jaintias and had to reckon with Mughal invasions, the 'Goddess of War' could easily command loyalty. Further the deity was projected as fierce.... The success in foiling the repeated Ahom onslaughts strengthened the belief that Ranachandi was the protectress of the tribe and worshipping her would ensure victory in war.'[199]

An entire chapter is devoted to the worship of Rāṣṭrasenā in the *Māhātmyam*.[200] Whenever Ekaliṅga is invoked in a crisis to protect the state, Ekaliṅga instructs Rāṣṭrasenā to help militarily and politically restore Citrakuta to the Guhilas.[201] Today, there stands a temple of Rāṣṭrasenā (Rāṭhāsenā) near that of Vindhyavāsinī and Ekaliṅgajī.[202] Besides Vindhyavāsinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālikā, Ambikā and goddesses of villages and hills were also integrated into the pantheon.[203] But they do not figure in the central pantheon.[204] Next to Ekaliṅga and Vindhyavāsinī, Gaṇeśa, Takṣaka (Takṣakeśam Maheśvaram), Kumāra (Kārtikeya), Bhāskara (Sūrya), Bhairva (malignant form of Śiva), Dūrgā, Dharmeśvar (another form of Śiva), Viṣṇu, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and Kāmeśa (Kāmadeva?) are worshipped during Catirayātrā.[205]

We also see the integration of the local *tīrthas*. The *Indrasarasi* (lake of Indra) at Ekaliṅga temple, Nāgahrda,

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198. J.B. Bhattacharjee, `Dimasa State Formation in Cachar' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics and State Systems in Pre-Colonial Eastern and North-Eastern India, Calcutta, 1987, p.181.

199. Ibid.

200. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.145, vv.1, 4.

201. Ibid., p.134, vv.55-57.

202. District Census Handbook, Udaipur, 1981, p.xxviii.

203. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.35, v.23, `*Cāmuṇḍā Vindhyavāsinī Kālikāthambiketi ca 1 grāmanāmnī kvācitiddevī tīrthaparvatagotraja 11*'.

204. Ibid., pp.160-65. These goddesses do not figure in the list of deities worshipped during Caitrayātrā.

205. Ibid., pp.162-65, vv.50-90.

obviously tops the list of the *tīrthas*.[206] It legitimizes the supremacy of the Pāśupata sect in the region. Śaivite *tīrthas*, such as Dhāreśvara,[207] Kṣīreśvara in the land of rivers Chandrabhaga and Gomati (Bhilwara and Udaipur districts),[208] Gautameśvara (Godwar region, Pali district, north of Mewar hills),[209] Takṣaka Maheśvara,[210] Kuṭilakuṇḍa[211] and Kedārakuṇḍa[212] make up the list of regional *tīrthas*. The list of the *tīrthas* in *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* testifies to the spread of the cult of Śiva.

Patronage for the Pāśupatas was sought again and again through a threat that whenever Ekaliṅga was neglected, Mewar would be attacked by the *Mlecchas*,[213] and relief can only come when help is sought through Hārīta's disciples.[214] The *Māhātmyam* hails the Pāśupata system as the best way to achieve spiritual liberation the ultimate goal of man.[215] At the same time the *tīrtha* of Vindhyavāsinī at Karaja Kuṇḍa and that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa also figure in the list for obvious reasons.[216] Thus were integrated all the local deities into the pantheon of Ekaliṅga.[217] The final stage of legitimation was sought through the office of the person-

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206. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.144, v.40.

207. Ibid., p.9, vv.25-27.

208. Ibid., ch.15.

209. Ibid., p.70, v.123.

210. Ibid., p.142, vv.9-10.

211. Ibid., pp.141-42, vv.308.

212. Ibid., p.144, vv.33-39.

213. Ibid., p.134, v.59.

214. Ibid., p.133, v.49, `*Hārītasya ca śiṣya te vinayenābhi baddyaca*'.

215. Ibid., p.160, v.14, `*Vratam Pāśupatam nāmā Śivaloka-gatipradam*'.

216. Ibid., p.143, vv.18, 20.

217. Ibid., p.7, v.10, `*Yādṛiśam yasya devasya rūpamāyudha-vāhanam 1 tadṛiśam dārṣadīm mūrtīm prāpya pūjya bhaviṣyatha 11*'.

al servant of the god, Ekaliṅga. The first official appearance of the title *Ekaliṅganijasevaka* takes place in the fifteenth century.[218]

As the Guhila king became Ekaliṅga's deputy, the deity assumed kingly attributes and the king underwent some sort of deification.[219]

> The Mahādevas... were increasingly transformed into imperial Lords by fitting them out with all symbols of an earthly mahārāja and by assimilating their temple rites increasingly to the palace rites. For, the greater the ostentation of the Mahādeva and his divine court, all the more legitimate was the splendour and power of his earthly representatives and his royal court. This development contributed decisively to the legitimation of the mahārāja who, while not really deified, was brought, nevertheless, nearer to the divinity.[220]

Ekaliṅga was invested with rituals on a royal scale.[221] The *abhiṣeka* of Ekaliṅga seems to have something in common with that of the king. While Ekaliṅga is bathed in *pañcamṛitam (dadhī, kṣīram, sita, madhu* and *ghṛtam)*,[222] the king is bathed in *pañcagabya* (clarified oil, milk, curd, honey and sugar) during his *abhiṣeka* (coronation).[223]

The king is first given *bhasmīsnāna* (bath in ashes) during the ritual of *abhiṣeka*. It reminds us of the pasupata ritual of bathing in ashes.[224] But what is clearly demonstrated is that the Guhila king is a deputy of Ekaliṅgaji. The king is permitted to rule only with the permission of Ekaliṅgajī. The fact is amply demonstrated by the coronation ceremony. After the Bhils perform the *tika*

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218. Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*, 4th slab, op. cit., v.239.

219. Hermann Kulke, 'The early and imperial kingdom', op. cit., p.27.

220. Ibid.

221. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, Chs.23-25, 32.

222. Ibid., p.117, v.8.

223. Rajendranath Purohit, op. cit., p.43.

224. J.N. Banerji, 'Lakulīśa--the founder of the systematizer of Pāśupata order', PIHC, Jaipur, 1951, pp.33-37; B.P. Majumdar, 'Lakulīśa Pāśupatas and their temples in medieval India' in Journal of Bihar Research Society, XXXIX, 1953, pp.1-9.

ceremony comes the turn of the chief priest of the Ekaliṅgajī temple to put the *tilak*.[225] He also garlands the king, and confers on him a stole and other articles.[226] At the end of the long coronation ceremony, the Rāṇā pays a visit to the Ekaliṅgajī temple. The Rāṇā, dressed as the priest, performs the worship of Ekaliṅgajī.[227] The chief priest of the temple, on behalf of Ekaliṅgajī, presents a sword, royal umbrella, *chaurī* and other insignia of royalty.[228] The king donates a huge amount in the name of Ekaliṅgajī and also a sum to the priest.[229] After the ceremony at the temple, the king takes leave of Ekaliṅgajī and returns to the royal palace.[230]

Alliance with the Śaiva centres was further sought once the political centre of the state shifted from Nāgdā-Āhaḍa to Chittaurgarh. Chittaurgarh had a popular Saiva *tirtha* at Samadhīśvara, close to the royal funerary station and an ancient Kuṇḍa, *Gaumukh*. There is no reference to *Samadhīśvara* Mahādeva in the pre-thirteenth century Guhila records. Expectedly, reference to Samadhīśvara Mahādeva start figuring in the Guhila records only from the thirteenth century onwards. In other words, once the Guhilas established themselves at Chittaurgarh, a corollary relationship was extended to the local, popular Śaiva *tīrtha* of Samadhīśvara. The relationship is revealed gradually. In the beginning, the royal dynasty did not claim any direct alliance with

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225. Rajendra Purohit, op. cit., p.46. The fact that the Bhils have the foremost right to put *tīkā* at the coronation ceremony also highlights the political importance of the Bhils, signifying transfer of power.

226. Ibid.

227. Ibid., p.48.

228. Ibid., p.49.

229. Ibid.

230. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.600. About the priests of Ekaliṅgajī, Tod also writes, "the Ranas of Mewar as the Deewans or Vice-regents of Siva, when they visit the temple, supercede the high priest in his duties, and perform the ceremonies, which the reigning prince does, with particular correctness and grace".

Samadhīśvara Mahādeva of Chittaurgarh. But the popularity of the cult among the local elite is revealed only by the royal records. Royal priest and court-bard Vedaśarmā declares himself to be a favourite of Ekaliṅga as well as Śrī Samadhīśā in Achaleśvara inscription of A.D. 1285.[231] A similar situation continues to prevail till the early fifteenth century when the royal artisan Vīsala decalres himself a favourite of Samadhīśā and prays for the eternal existence of the temple of Śrī Samadhīśāmaheśvara in Chittaurgarh (Samadhīśvara temple) inscription of Mokal.[232] The situation significantly changes in the latter half of the fifteenth century when the royal family claims direct relationship with Samadhīśvara indicating the popularity and influence of this *tīrtha*. Rāṇā Kumbha claims to be a worshipper of Samadhīśvara of Citrakūṭa,[233] so also Mokal in the Purāṇic section of the *Ekaliṅgāgamāhātmyam*.[234]

However, Ekaliṅga continued to be the highest source of legitimation, and large-scale land-grants were made to the temple at the end of our period of study.

The Ekaliṅga temple *dakṣiṇadvāra* praśasti records the grant of a number of villages to it in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. The list runs as follows: Siṁhavallīpura by Hammīra,[235] Pānavādapura and Khetanaranātha by Kṣetrasiṁha,[236] ciravā by Lakṣasiṁha, Vādhanavādam and Rāmagrāma by

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231. op. cit., v.60 `*Yokārśīd Ekaliṅgatribhuvana-Viditaśrīsamadhīśaca-krasvāmī prasādavṛinde priyapatu-tanayo Vedaśarmā praśatih*'.

232. op. cit., v.3 and 5 of last part. `*Atipraśas tairalikhatpraśastimvarnairavarṇena bahih kṛitairyah ll Śrīmatsamadhīsamaheśvara syaprasādata sau cirajīvanostu ll rūcirākṣaramutkārṇa prasastiriyamujvata ll Lilekha Vīsalah śilpī Samadhīśaprasādatah*'.

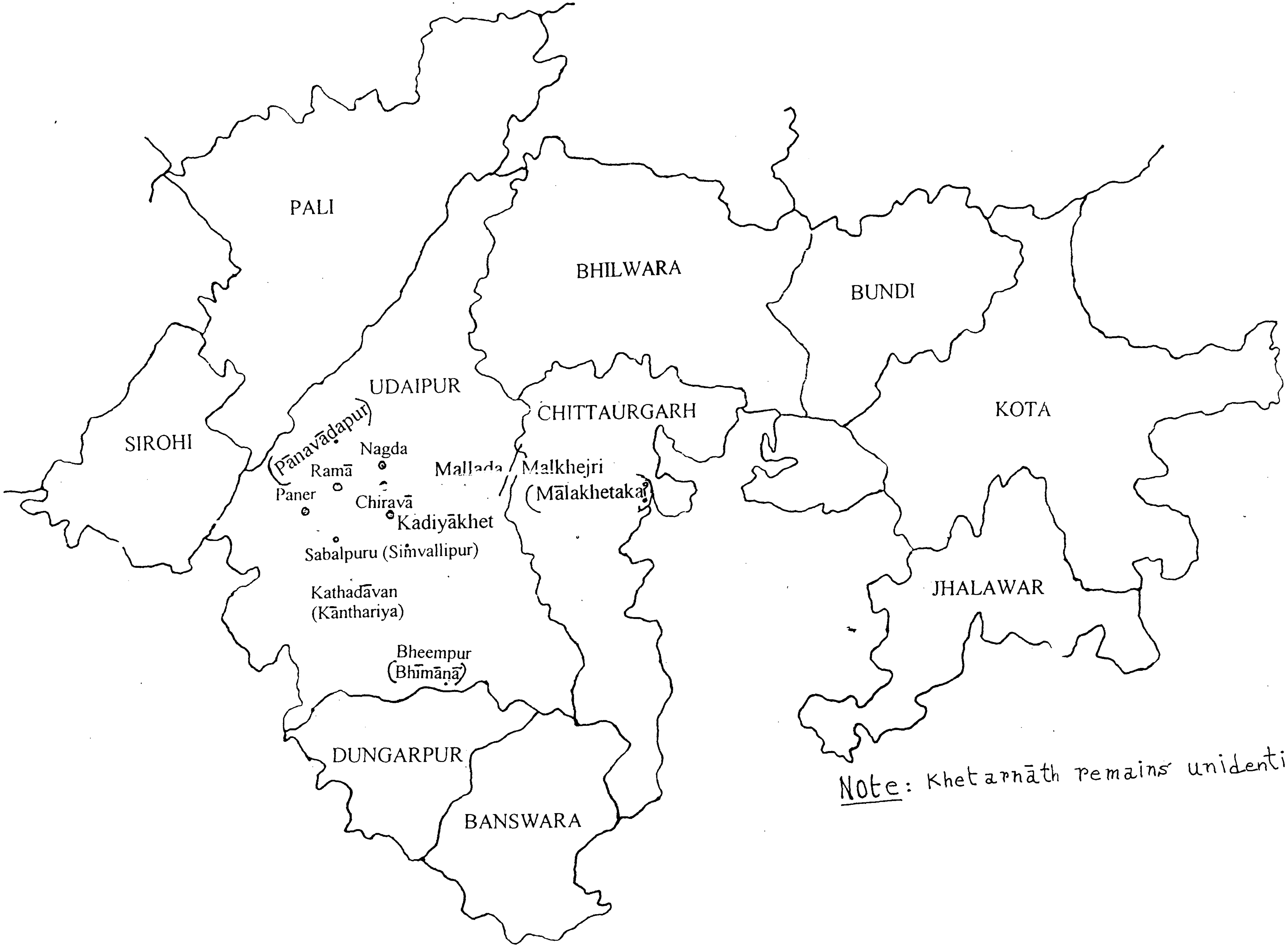
233. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., v.222, `*Nṛipah Samadhīśvarasiddhatejah samadhībhājam paramam rahasyam ll ārādhya tasyalayamidd-dhara Śrīcitrakūṭe maṇitoronāmkain*'.

234. op. cit., p.181, v.111.

235. op. cit., v.26.

236. Ibid., v.32.

Guhila Grant of Villages to the Temple of Ekaliṅgajī :
AD Late 14th - 15th Centuries.



Note: Khetarnāth remains unidentified.

Mokal,[237] Nāgahrda (renewing or granting additional resources), Kathadāvana, Mālakakhetakā and Bhīmāna by Kumbha for the worship of Umā-Maheśa (in addition to Ekaliṅga,[238]) and Ratnakhetā by Rāimalla.[239] This list of villages donated by the royalty is, significantly, repeated in the Mewari (dialect) part of this record. `...Rāi Kedār, Hammīra huo, tina Śrī Ekaliṅga Caturmukha mūrti dharāvī, si heta grāma devabhogartha cadavyum, seto... P ānavād grāma.... Lākhansena, tini Ciravogrāma....'[240] The same list of royal landgrants is attested by *Amarakāvyam*.[241] Such an extensive network of royally donated villages indicates the renewal of a symbiotic relationship between the Guhila dynasty and Ekaliṅga, particularly in the reign of the Rāṇās (post-thirteenth century). This record of Rāimalla repeats the well-known legends of "Bappa at Nāgahrda" and the bestowal of the kingdom of Medapāṭa on Bappa by Hārītarāśi (of the temple of *Trikūṭagiri*, a devotee of Śrī Ekaliṅga).[242] Repetition of the age-old legitimizing motifs undoubtedly helped stabilize the political situation for Rāṇā Rāimalla. A similar alliance is also echoed by the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* which refers to the renewal of the worship and patronage of the Ekaliṅga temple by Rāimalla after the brief interregnum of Udaisiṁha I (assassin of Kumbha) and his ally the Delhi Sultan.[243]

We have seen that sacred domain emanated from a variety of sources in Mewar. The Guhila state patronized brāhmaṇas who provided them with respectable origin in the early phase of state formation. Brāhmaṇas composed and officially

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237. Ibid., v.46, `*Grāmam Vādhanavādam Rāmagrāmam ca Mokalo nṛipatih 11 Śivabhutagāmsúlkam Śivabhogārtham Samarpāyāmas*'.

238. Ibid., v.48.

239. Ibid., v.67.

240. Ibid., concluding part is in Mewari dialect.

241. op. cit., p.143, v.13, p.145, v.24, p.150, v.20, p.169, v.52.

242. op. cit., vv.11-17.

243. op. cit., ch.30,

propagated legitimizing motifs in the later phases and continued to legitimize Guhila power beyond Mewar and in tribal centres and non-Guhila Rajput localities. But in the peak period of state formation in Mewar, between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, the Guhila power drew validation from the highest source of legitimation, the cult of Ekaliṅga of Nāgdā and the Pāśupata ācāryas. The Guhila title *Ekaliṅganijasevaka* in the fifteenth century links the Guhila power directly to the central cult of Ekaliṅga. The surrender of sovereign power to Ekaliṅga, the de jure ruler of Mewar, legitimized rule of the fifteenth century Guhilas in Mewar and hence facilitated massive mobilization for the Guhila state. A general survey of monarchical myths and royal links with cult centres in Orissa, Bastar and South India in the context of state formation in the early medieval and medieval periods confirms our observations.

CHAPTER V - APPENDIX

Origin Myths based on Legends (I) The Medieval Tribal Polities in Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam

States	Sources	Status Claimed	Origin Myth
ORISSA:			
1. State of Bonai; possibly Bhuiyan or Bond or Binjhal Tribal and chiefs	Oral Traditions at Court[1] Late Royal Chronicle[2]	Kadam Vaṁśī Rajput	Originating in Ceylon, left under a Kadam tree brought up by a Peacock
2. State of Mayurbhanj; Bhanja tribal chiefs	Royal Chronicles[3]		Sūryavaṁśa Vaśiṣṭha gotra, Claiming origin
3. State of Keonjhar: Bhanja Royal family, Rulers sponsored by the Pabudi Bhuiyan, Saonti, Rajkulī Bhuiyan and Kondh tirbes	Local Annals[4]		Child prince Jyotibhanj of the Bhanja royal family was stolen from the royal palace by some members of the Bhuiyan tribe of Keonjhar to redress their grievances, Boy-prince was brought up by the Bhuiyans as their king
BIHAR:			
State of Chhotanagpur: Nāgvaṁśī royal familial Important Tribal Partner in State formation of Chhotanagpur are the Mundas	Royal chronicles Veṇi Ram's Nāg Vaṁśāvalī[5]	Kṣatriya Nāgvaṁśī	Originating Puṇḍarika Nāga disguised as a brāhmaṇa and married to a brāhmaṇa wife.
WEST BENGAL:			
State of Mallabhūm; A.D. 16th Century - End of 18th Century (Major portion of present Bankura district) Malla Royal family Bagdis, a low-caste community from Eastern Mālbhūm	Royal chronicles[6]	Rajput kṣatriya	Ādi Malla, founder of the Malla dynasty, son of a Rajput Kṣatriya rājā, brought up by a brāhmaṇa in a forest. The boy-prince in alliance with an aboriginal prince carved out out a principality in the forest territory.

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1. Orissa District Gazetteer, Sundergarh, Orissa Government Press. Also see C.E.B. Cobdan-Ramsay, Orissa Feudatory States, Calcutta, 1910 and Report on Tour in Bonai, Government of Bengal, 1863-64.

2. L.K. Mahapatra, `Ex-princely States of Orissa: Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Bonai' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics and State Systems in Pre-Colonial Eastern and North Eastern India, Calcutta, 1987, p.13.

3. Ibid., pp.16-18.

4. Ibid., p.19.

5. K. Suresh Singh, `The Chhotanagpur Raj: Mythology, Structure and Ramification' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics, op. cit., pp.52-64.

6. Hitesranjan Sanyal, `Mallabhum' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics, ibid., pp.73-77.

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States	Sources	Status Claimed	Origin Myth
	Bagdi chronicles	Bagdi origin of the Malla Kings[7]	First Bagdi child of Śiva and Pārvatī
ASSAM:			
Ahom State: A.D. 1228-1800 Ahom Royal family	Royal Ahom chronicles[8]	Divine Origin of the First Tai Kingdom	First Tai Kingdom came from heaven to bring fallow land under cultivation and stateless people under a stable ruler (indicate superiority of Tai agriculturists over their non-Tai neighbours practising Jhum cultivation
Dimāsā State or Herambya--rājya ; (North Cachar Hills and parts of Nowgong district in Assam, Dayung-Dhansiri valley in Nagaland and Jiri Frontier Area in Manipur Dimāsā Royal Family descending from Bodo lineage of Tibeto-Burmese origin.	Royal Chronicles[9]	Divine origin	First Dimāsā King Nirbhoya Nārāyaṇa discovered his divine origin through his dharmādī guru, a brāhmaṇa
	Local legends[10]		First Dimāsā King Nirbhoy Nārāyaṇa was blessed by war goddess Raṇachaṇḍī, invincibility in battles.
	Brāhmaṇical Tradition[11]		Hiḍimbā of Mahābhārata, ancestors and Bhīma, (Pāṇḍava brother) the ancestor, Ghatotkach Nārāyaṇa, the first Dimāsā ruler and genealogy begins with Bhīma

7. Ibid., p.79.

8. Amalendu Guha, `The Ahom Political System: An Enquiry into State Formation in Medieval Assam: 1228-1800' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics, op. cit., pp.153-154.

9. J.B. Bhattacharjee, `Dimasa State Formation in Cachar' in Surajit Sinha (ed.), Tribal Politics, op. cit., p.180.

10. Ibid., pp.181-182.

11. Ibid., pp.182-183.

Evolution of and Shift in Rajput Origin Myths Other than Guhila Dynasties

Dynasties	Period	Political Status	Origin Claims
Gurjaras of Nandipuri	A.D. 7th Century	Subordinate allies, suggested by such titles as mahā sāmanata, etc.	Descent from Mahārāja Karṇa[12]
Pratīhāras of Mandor	Mid-eighth century	-	Descent from the Kṣatriya, implying brahma-kṣatra status. Also claims links with Lakṣmaṇa who acted as the Pratīhāra (door keeper) of Rāma[13]
- do -	Late eighth century	-	- do - (Name of the brāhmaṇa wife dropped[14]
Pratīhāras of Rajasthan and Kanauj	Ninth century	Sovereign Power	Descent from the Sun, implying Sūryavaṁśī origin through Lakṣhmaṇa[15]
- do -	Tenth century	Mentioned as the overlords of the Cāhamānas	Raghuvaṁśī[16]
Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Rajor (Alwar)	Late Tenth century	Subordinate Allies of the Pratīhāras of Rajasthan and Kanauj[17]	-
Cāhamānas of Nādol (Godwar; Marwar)	Early Twelfth century	-	Descent from Indra through a person who was born out of Indra's eyes[18]
Cāhamānas of Śākambharī	Mid-Tenth century	Subordinate Allies of the Pratīhāras[19]	-
- do -	Late Twelfth century	Sovereign Power	Brāhmaṇical descent, Vipraśrī Vatsagotra[20]
- do -	Late twelfth century	- do -	Descent from Sun-god, described as the right eye of Viṣṇu[21]
- do -	A.D. 1191-3	- do -	Descent from the Sun and the Ikṣhākus of the Kṛta age.[22]

12. IA, Vol.XIII, pp.70 ff.; EI, Vol.XXIII, pp.147 ff.

13. EI, Vol.XVIII, pp.97-8.

14. JRAS, 1895, pp.519-20.

15. EI, Vol.XVIII, p.110.

16. IA, Vol.XLII, p.58.

17. EI, Vol.III, pp.263-7.

18. Ibid., Vol.XI, p.304.

19. IA, Vol.XLII, pp.57 ff.

20. EI, Vol.XXVI, pp.84 ff.

21. Ibid., Vol.XXIX, p.179.

22. Prithvīrājvijaya of Jayanaka, quoted in V.S. Pathak, Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies, Bombay, 1966, pp.98-136.

Guhila Dynasties and Chiefly Families

Locality	Period	Family Name	Political Status	Nature of claims about the Origin of the family
1. Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā		Guhilaputrān Vaya	Subordinate allies, suggested by such titles as Sāmanata, Samadhigatapañca mahāśabda, mahārāja, etc.	
2. Guhilas of Chatsu	Middle of the tenth century[23]	Guhilavaṁśa	Subordinate allies of the Morīs and Pratīhāras	Brahma-Kṣatrānvita
3. Guhilas of Mewar	A.D. 661[24]	Guhilānvaya	Although they bear no subordinate political title possibly functioned as subordinate allies of the Morīs	
	A.D. 977[25]		Sovereign in Mewar Hills	Founder of the family, Guhadatta is described as `ānandapura Vinirgata Viprakulānandanoh mahīdevah' implying descent from a brāhmaṇa family of Ānandapura (Vadnagar in north-eastern Gujarat)
- do -	A.D.1083[26]		- do -	
- do -	A.D.1285[27]	Guhilavaṁśa	Sovereign in Mewar	Brahmakṣatra
- do -	A.D.1460[28]		- do -	
- do -	A.D.1500[29]	Śilādityavaṁśa	- do -	Sūryavaṁśa
- do -	A.D.1680[30]	Gahilauta	- do -	Sūryavaṁśa and Ikṣavākuvaṁśa
4. Guhila of Mangrol (Saurashtra)	A.D.1146	Guhilavaṁśa	Functionary of the Caulukyas title of `Surāṣtranāyaka'	—
5. Guhilas of Unstra Jodhpur (Marwar)	A.D.1179-80	Guhila	Small, local chiefs	—
6. Guhilas of Nāḍol (Godwar)	A.D.1138	Guhilānvaya	Local chief at Nāḍol in the Nāḍol Cāhamāna State	—

23. Chatsu inscription of Guhila Bāladitya, op. cit.

24. Udaipur or Kuṇḍagrāma praśasti of Guhila Aparājita, op. cit.

25. Āṭpura inscription of Śaktikumāra, op. cit.

26. Kadmal Plates of Vijayasiṁha, op. cit.

27. Achaleśvara Inscription, op. cit.

28. Kumbhalgarh Slabs, op. cit.

29. Nādlāi Adinath temple inscription, op. cit.

30. Rāj Praśasti Mahākāvyam, op. cit.

CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GUHILA STATE: LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS

This chapter consists of five sections. The first or the introductory section briefly discusses the sources and their reliability - the methodological issues. The second section probes the self-perception of the state based on royal inscriptions from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, *Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*, the sthalapurāṇa, the royal inscription of the seventeenth century; Rājapraśasti and a text, Amarakāvyam of the seventeenth century. The third section discusses the perception of the influential, non-Rajput social groups engaged in the functioning of the state: the Ṭāmṭaraḍas and the Jains, between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. We then probe popular perceptions of the Guhila state, represented by bardic literature such as Cāran Girdhar Āsiā's Sagat Rāso and Nainsī Rī Khyāt of the seventeenth century, and Col. James Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan of the nineteenth century. We conclude with a brief discussion of the general trends and standardized motifs representing the Guhila state. The chapter will be appended with the genealogical lists from the Nainsī Rī Khyāt, the Sūryavaṁśāvalī and Rājābalī Bahī.

Methodologically, our sources would be utilized to analyse the contemporary situations. The royal inscriptional records between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries situate the Guhila rulers in the context of their contemporary political and territorial achievements and problems. The analysis would relate to the Guhila attempts in projecting particular images in specific situations. Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa's Rājapraśasti Mahākāvyam and Amarakāvyam undoubtedly reflect the royal perception in the seventeenth century. Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa, patronized by the royal court, was obviously presenting an exaggerated accounts of the Guhila Kings of Mewar to the elite in the royal court and to a similar audience beyond Mewar in contemporary Rajasthan. The Jain sources between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries are one of our best historical sources as they are least mediated. They are composed by the Jain ācaryas and reflect their perception of the Guhila state.

Nainsī, a seventeenth century official and an historian of the royal court of Marwar wrote about the Guhila state in Marwari while the cāran poet from Mewar, Giradhar Āsiā, composed Sagat Rāso in Mewari. Unlike the Bhāṭs who are essentially genealogists, the Cārans are specialists in compositions and recitations of family traditions and histories. They are the primary preservers and transmitters of family tales.[1] They are rewarded just like the Bhāṭs with grants of land called *śāsan* held in perpetuity.[2] If Nainsī Rī Khyāt was meant for a larger audience beyond the royal court in the seventeenth century, Sagat Rāso, although patronized by the court of Mewar, was certainly directed at a popular audience in Mewar in the same period. What emerges out of a juxtaposition of the royal-accounts, Khyāt and Cāran traditions of the seventeenth century is the parallels and the contrasts in the different perceptions. Finally, we have the account of Col. James Tod, an official of the East India Company, who learnt Sanskrit and Mewari dialects from a local Jain ācārya. He widely travelled throughout Mewar, met various Rajput chiefs and collected the local bardic traditions. His claim of presentation of the Rajput traditions therefore seems to be doubly mediated, as local annals were interpreted first by the elite members of the local society before they were interpreted by Tod. Our purpose is to compare and contrast nineteenth century perception of the Guhila state with those of the seventeenth century, to assess whether changes occurred in popular perceptions or whether the general perception of the Guhila state had become standardized. Our suggestion can also be attested by some of current popular idioms and songs from Mewar.

II

Our discussion of the royal perception of the state of Mewar begins with the late thirteenth century as the Guhilas attained regional statehood (through integrative processes) in this period. The Guhila state of Nāgdā-Āhāḍa, which had graduated from a local state (seventh century) to a sub-

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1. Norman Ziegler, "Marvari Historical Chronicles: Sources for the Social and Cultural History of Rajasthan", IESHR, Vol.13, 1976, p.221.

2. Ibid., p.223.

regional state of Mewar hills (between the tenth and thirteenth centuries) and finally to the regional state of Mewar (late thirteenth century) projected magnified self-image for the first time inthe late thirteenth century. We have discussed the legitimizing motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga medapāṭa that legalized the exercise of power by a local dynasty over the whole of Mewar. But it is equally important to discuss the self-projection of the Guhila state, which should be distinguished from the problems of legitimation.

In view of their recent territorial expansion and consequent political integration, the Guhila dynasty was attempting to claim local roots to popularize its image in the late thirteenth century. The Guhilas drew legitimation from the Pāśupata sect and the cult of Ekaliṅga through the legendary king Bappa; what was being actually attempted was utilization of the same legends to claim their long association with a locally popular sect as well as the regional cult. Legendary Bappa who had obviously attained a popular image by the thirteenth century was straightaway appropriated as the founder of the Guhila dynasty.[3] Similarly, sage Hārītarāśi, regional tīrtha at Nāgdā and its cult Ekaliṅga[4] had been appropriated to project ancient linkages with the local and popular religious motifs and landmarks.

A chiefly family from Chittaurgarh having succeeded to the throne of Mewar possibly in the late fourteenth century was faced with essentially two political problems. It had to go through a process of identifying itself with the Guhila dynasty. The other problem pertained to the tackling of the recurrent inroads from the neighbouring sultanates of Malwa and Gujarat and consequent territorial expansion of the Guhila state. Hence, the fifteenth century kings of Mewar made every attempt to match up to Guhila glory and traditions. Hammīra, a legendary prince, (aluding to an early scion of the family) was claimed to be the conquerors

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3. Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1274, op. cit., vv.10-13 and Achaleśvara Inscription of A.D. 1285, op. cit., v.12.

4. Ibid.

of the enemies on all sides.[5] Hammīra is attributed with all the kingly attributes, who happens to be the best of the kṣatriyas.[6] The fact that Hammīra was legendary and never sat on the throne of Mewar is evident from the legends woven around him.[7]

That Hammīra possibly alludes to an early prince of the Rāṇā branch of the Guhilas[8] has been already discussed and the situations described pertain to the early phase of the ascendancy of the Rāṇā Guhilas. But political exigencies demanded the projection of a self-image asking that an equally legendary figure like that of Bappa be claimed as the founder of the royal house. Such an image was necessary not only to highlight their political and military power but also to claim kinship connections with the Guhila dynasty. However, an interesting phenomenon can be observed with the coming of Hammīra in the lives of the fifteenth century Guhila kings. The importance of the legendary Bappa seems to be transferred to Hammīra. The saga of prince Hammīra is elaborated throughout the fifteenth century. Because it was Hammīra and not Bappa who was to expand the rule of the chiefly family that had succeeded the actual Guhilas.

The self-image of the state was important at the beginning of the military career of the fifteenth century Guhilas and even more so at its peak. Rāṇā Mokal began eulogizing Hammīra in the early part of the fifteenth century,[9] and Rāṇā Kumbha further elaborated upon Hammīra's attributes.[10] Increasing self-image was the definite need of the hour for political consolidation.

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5. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., vv.2-5 and Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1429, op. cit., vv.13-18.

6. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, Ibid., v.5.

7. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.217-221.

8. vide Passim, Ch.III, Section: King and Kinsmen in the 15th century.

9. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, Ibid., vv.2-5 and Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1429, op. cit., vv.13-18.

10. Kumbhalgarh Praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., vv.185-90, '*Mahārāṇā śrī Hammīravarṇanam raṇoraṅgodhīra Vīraśrīvarene rāṇe Hammīrabhūpateh*'.

With Hammīra began Mewar's battles with the Sultans and the fifteenth century Guhilas projected themselves as the 'saviour of the community' from the yoke of mlecchas. However, it is important to probe into the antecedents of the title of Hammīra. Interestingly, the word hammīra, hamīma or hamvīra appears to be a corruption of the Arabic word amīr (commander) derived from the root amīr (command).[11] It is evident from the coins and Sanskrit inscriptions that Sultans like Mu`izzuddin (Muhammad bin Sam) and some other sultans of Delhi including Balban, were given the title of Śrī Hammīra.[12] Hence, the status of Amīr or Hammīra seems to have been internalized by Rajput society, and Rajput princes were given the title Hammīra from the thirteenth century. Whether it is Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranathambhor of the late thirteenth century-early fourteenth century or Guhila Hammīra of Mewar, the status attached to the legendary Hammīra by the fifteenth century Guhilas also testifies to the percolation of the courtly standards of Delhi into Rajasthan.

The process of image-building equally demanded that the fifteenth century kings claimed a comparatively ancient rulership over Mewar. Hence, prince Arisiṁha, Hammīra's father, was "lord of Medapāṭa" in the early fifteenth century[13] and occupied a significant position in the royal genealogy at the end of the fifteenth century.[14] In fact, Arisiṁha too never actually sat on the throne of Mewar and just like the other early princes of this family seems to be a legendary figure.[15]

The problem of repeated incursions from the neighbour-

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11. D.C. Sircar, Glossary of Indian Epigraphy, op. cit., p.341.

12. Pushpa Prasad, Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate: A.D. 1191-1526, Delhi, 1990, p.17.

13. Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1429, op. cit., v.7.

14. Kumbhalgarh Praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., vv.182-84; Rāṇā Rāimalla's Ekaliṅga Dakṣiṇa dvāra Praśasti, op. cit., v.20.

15. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.218.

ing sultanates and maintenance of the self-image seems to have been tackled by the Guhila state in the early period through motifs of `liberator of the holy tirthas'. The Guhilas claim to be the `liberators' of the holy *tīrtha* of Gaya from the yoke of the Yavanas in the first half of the fifteenth century. `May the famous line of that prince Lakṣ?a ever rejoice (in this world) by whom Gayā was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gaya, and for which (whose) ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer (on him) genuine benedictions'.[16] It is significant that the role of "saviour" of the *tīrthas* is only confined to Gayā in the early part of the fifteenth century. Such limited claims perhaps reflect upon the actual results of early incursions from Nagaur and Gujarat in which the losses for Mewar might have been substantial.

By the second half of the fifteenth century the royal claim to liberate Gaya gets magnified into the liberation of the holy *tristhalī* - the *tīrthas* of Gayā, Prayāg and Kāshī, all in the Gangetic plains. The Guhilas were obviously utilizing a sacred motif to enhance their credibility in the face of external threats. It is indeed worth noting that the more it got involved in the military campaigns against the sultanates of Malwa and Gujarat, the more the state dwelt on this theme. Such claims were aimed at a popular appeal. The scale on which Rāṇā Kumbha undertook his campaigns, called for massive mobilization. Without claiming to be the 'liberator of the *tīrthas*' it was difficult for the state to effectively moblize the local populace in the campaigns, especially against Malwa and Gujarat. The fact that mobilization was the need of the hour is also evident from the creation of the goddess Rāṣṭrasenā in more or less the same period.[17] A definite indicator that the state had to orient its self-image towards campaigns against Malwa and Gujarat, as is evident from the high-sounding titles of Kumbha as the conqueror of Malwa and its sultan (*Śrī Kumbho Mālavambhodhīnāthmanthalumahīdhārāh* and *mahamma-*

16. Śṛiṅgīṛiṣi Inscription, op. cit., v.11.

17. vide Passim, Ch.V, pp.

damahīpateh),[18] lord of Gujarat and the conqueror of Malwa and its sultan (*Sphurjodgurjaramanḍaleśvaramsau Kārāgṛihe Vivasat* and *rāṇāpahṛitakuñjarairmitagurjaradhiśvara*).[19] Till the end of our period, Rāṇā Lākhā continues to be credited with the liberation of Gaya in the royal records.[20]

Victory over the 'śakas' (the Khaljis) was a central theme: Raimalla is claimed as the 'lord of Gyāsaśaka' (Giayasuddin Khalji of Malwa) pervading Citrakūṭa.[21] The Guhilas in the fifteenth century in their praśastis do not simply eulogise their victories over the sultans by singling out their names but always append the term 'śaka' to such defeated Kings. This would have further enhanced their image as protectors of the brāhmaṇical sacred centres and hence those of local society. Such an image is extended upto the Delhi Sultanate. Rāimalla is claimed as the 'uprooter of Delhi power',[22] and victory over Malwa is equated with victory over the Yavanas.[23]

It is significant that by the end of our period the scope of the royal perception of the state of Mewar extends beyond Western India and the Yavanas. It takes the Guhilas to the realm of conquests of distant countries like Kashmir, Karnataka and Andhra. Rāṇā Rāimalla is described as the

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18. Chittaur Kirttistambha Inscription of A.D. 1460 in Sharda, M.K., p.213, op.cit., Part II, v.17.

19. Ibid., Part I, v.23, Part II, v.173.

20. Rāimalla's Ekaliṅga temple daksiṇadvāra praśasti, op. cit., vv.28 and 38, '*nṛipatitanuh Kṣetrasiṁhah Kṣiti-śah 11 Gayātīrtham Vāyarthikṛitakathapurāṇa Smṛitipa-tham śakaih Kruralokaih Karakatakaniryantranamdhāt*'.

21. Ibid., v.68, '*tanvānam tamulam mahāsihatibhih śrī citrakūṭe galadgarvam gyāsśakeśvaram Vyārcayat Śrī Rājmallo nṛipah*'.

22. Ibid., v.80, '*Mānḍyanmanḍapacanadbhudharaharirḍhillī dṛidhon mulan apraudāham-Kṛitiriddha sindhu dharaṇipā-thodhimanthā calah*'.

23. Ibid., vv.77-78. '*...Śrī Rājmalla-dṛutam Gyāskṣonipa-teh Kṣanannipatita mānonnatāmaulayah 11 Kherāvaḍatrūn Vidārya Yavanaskandhān Vabhidyāsibhiranddadanmālavajān-balādupaharan bhindanśca Vaṁśānidvipām 11 Kīrterman-ḍalamuñcakairvyārcayat Śrī Rājmallo nṛipah 11*'.

`Sun of Gurjara-maṇḍala' and conqueror of Kashmir, Karnataka and Andhra.[24]

Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Guhilas attempted to project an inflated military image for themselves. A chronological study of such claims from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century clearly establishes the stages by which a self-image is built. Starting with the region of Medapāṭa, the claims graduated to military conquest of both the Yavanas and the regions almost from the crown of the subcontinent to its feet.

Finally, to enhance their political image, their epithets get further elaborated by the second half of fifteenth century. The epithets expanded from simple Ksitisa and Bhūpati[25] to Mahārājādhirāj Rāirāyā Rāṇerā[illegible] Mahārāṇā for Kumbha (Śrī Kumbhakarṇa).[26] It is significant to note such developments in royal epithets in the same record, the Kumbhalgarh *praśasti*. This projectd the gradual rise of the dynasty to power, its zenith being Kumbha's period. However, one of the most significant developments at the end of our period is the reiteration of the old popular motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga[27] that supported their claim of belonging to the Guhila dynasty and hence the popular mandate for their sovereignty over Mewar.

The process of building of self-image by the royal house continued beyond our period of study. The Puranic section of the Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, believed to have been composed immediately after this period, introduces new royal motifs. Two mythical figures, Māhap and Rāhap, figure for the first time. The legends about Māhap and Rāhap pertain to the problems of identification with the Guhila dynasty. Rāhap, who is simply stated to have belonged to another

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24. Ibid., v.80, `*Sphurjjadagurjjara candramaṇḍalaraviḥ Kāśmīrakaṁsācyutaḥ Karṇāṭandhakadhūrjjaṭirvijayate Śrī Rājmallo nṛipaḥ 11*'.

25. Chittaurgarh Inscription of A.D. 1429, op. cit., vv.37 & 49.

26. Kumbhalgarh praśasti, 4th slab, op. cit., v.233.

27. Ekaliṅga Temple Dakṣiṇa Dvāra Praśasti of A.D. 1488, op. cit., vv.11-17.

branch of the Guhilas, is and to have become the king after obtaining the title of Rana.[28] It clearly implies that the Rāṇās went in for invention of new myths to project their legitimacy over the throne that had belonged to the erstwhile Rāval Guhilas. By assigning Rāhap to the Sīsodā, a distinction from the Rāvals is maintained too.[29] The problems of identification with the erstwhile Guhila rulers as well as maintaining its own distinction as a separate family of the Guhilas possibly became acute in view of series of assassinations of the Rāṇā kings in the fifteenth century.[30] In an open-ended polity, where any chiefly family could uphold its claim to the Guhila throne, political assassinations reveal the vulnerability of the royal family. Hence, it became necessary for the royal family at the end of the fifteenth, or in the early sixteenth century, to elaborate upon its military origin through the legend of Rāhap obtaining the kingdom by acquiring of the title of Rāṇā. Arisiṁha, Hammīra, etc., are replaced by some more mythical kings such as Narapati, Gajapati, Chatrapati, etc.,[31] as descendants of Rāhap.

The claim to Ādityavaṁśa (Sūryavaṁśa) is further modified in the Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam by introducing the Guhila kings as descendants of brāhmaṇa Vijayāditya of Nāgarvaṁśa and Vaijavāpā gotra hailing from Ānandapura.[32] Perhaps it was an attempt at reiterating the kinship links with the Rāval Guhilas who had claimed Brahma-Kṣatra status at the end of this career in the late thirteenth century. Moreover, by assigning each chapter of the Sthalapurāṇa including that of the royal genealogy (Rājavarṇana) to the *Vāyupurāṇa*,[33] religious sanctity is lent to the entire story of the foundation of the Guhila state. However, once again the foundation story of the Guhila state revolving around Bappa-

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28. Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam, op. cit., p.175, v.63, '*Rāṇātvam prāptah san pṛithvīpati Rāhapo bhūpah*'.

29. Ibid., v.65.

30. Vide Passim, Ch.IV, Section: Military Apparatus, p.61.

31. Ibid., v.63.

32. Ibid., p.171, vv.1-2.

33. Ibid., Ch.26.

Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga is repeated in the Sthalapurāṇa to draw the ultimate popularity from the regional cult of Ekaliṅga.

With the emergence of the Mughal Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century, the political situation certainly changed for Mewar. From a position of political pre-eminence in the early sixteenth century, Mewar seems to have found it difficult to adjust itself to that of a vassal state of the Mughals. That change in the political situation was drastic is evident from the Mughal accounts themselves. Babur in his Tuzuk-i-Baburi describes Rāṇā Sāṅgā as follows.

`Although there were many small and inconsiderable Rais and Rajas in the hills and woody country, yet there were the chief and the only ones of importance. Afghans, Bahrah to Behar, Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarat, Bahmanis in Dekhin, Sultan Muhmud in Malwa and Nuzrat Shah in kingdom of Bengal.... The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar (Vijaynagar). Another is Rana Sanka, who has attained his prasasti, high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitur. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu such as Rantpur (Ranthambhor), Sabangpur, Bhilsan and Chanderi'.[34]

The fact that an empire-builder from Central Asia considered his contemporary Guhila king as a powerful Rajput chief testifies to the politico-military power enjoyed by Mewar.

In contrast, Abul Fazal in his Akbar-Nama portrays a different picture for Mewar. He looks on Udaisiṁha II as merely an arrogant Rajput chief with substantial territorial control who prided himself on his past only. `It has already been mentioned that the Rana's arrogance was swollen by the fact of the glory of his line of ancestors who were in ancient times were rulers of India. The strength of his position, the extent of his territory, and the large number of his Rajputs who would sacrifice life for honour, cast a

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34. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds.), op. cit., Vol.IV, pp.259-61.

veil over his vision. He did not perceive the marvels of the Shahinshah's fortune, and abandoned obedience and went astray.'[35]

Moreover, Mewar did not any longer enjoy the strategic predominance in the later half of the sixteenth century as it did in the time of the Delhi Sultanate. The very fact that the Mughals reached Malwa to contain the recalcitrant chiefs via Dholpur and Gwalior[36] and that Mughal forces reached Gujarat without forcing passage through Mewar,[37] indicates the loss in the strategic importance of Mewar. Finally, the recently founded Rajput states of Rajasthan, specially the Rāṭhaur states of Jodhpur (Marwar) and Bikaner and the Kacchawaha state of Jaipur had begun to legitimize their power and political pre-dominance in the western India through their Mughal connection.[38] Economically too, Mewar declined in the sixteenth century.[39] There then appeared new understandings of the Guhila state as it struggled to retain pre-eminance amongst Rajput states.

The clash between Rāṇā Pratap and Akbar was not particularly important as Mewar was not strategically important for the Mughals in the late sixteenth century. It is evident from Abul Fazal that Akbar seems to have taken Chittaurgarh to control the recalcitrant Rajput chiefs.[40] But the magnitude of Rāṇā Pratap's struggles against Akbar in Rajput bardic lore[41] clearly indicates the attempts to magnify an image in a situation of confrontation with a far greater power of that of the Mughals and the consequent, diminishing

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35. H. Beveridge, tr., The Akbar Nama of Abul-Fazal, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, p.244.

36. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.341-42.

37. Ibid., pp.607-15.

38. Susanne Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph, Essays on Rajputana: History, Culture and Administration, New Delhi, 1984, pp.44-45.

39. Ibid.

40. Akbar Nama, op. cit., Vol.III, p.244.

41. Tod, Annals, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.264-78.

military image of the Guhila state. Long poems were composed by Cāran poets of sixteenth century Mewar to highlight Rāṇā Pratap's resistance to Akbar. For instance, a poem of three hundred lines, composed by Sārdū Mālā, his contemporary, eulogises Rāṇā Pratap's victory over the Mughal army at the battle of Khamnor.[42] It is significant that Sārdū Mālā calls Akbar only as *Dilī deśa nareśa* (King of Delhi).[43]

The clash continues to be perceived in epic terms in the royal records of the seventeenth century. Both Rajaprasasti and Amarakāvyam eulogise Pratap as the epitome of pride and power who never bowed down to *Dillīpati*.[44]

It is well known that Col. Tod in his Annals has also immortalized the Bhil-Pratap alliance against Akbar.[45] It is significant that a popular theme in Bhil songs continues to be the Rāṇā fighting the king of the East and the ultimately winning with the help of the deities of Mewar.[46] Although the theme is supposed to refer to the coming of the Britishers into Rajasthan from the east, the theme is known to have been older than the nineteenth century. Since the Mughals were situated to the East of Rajasthan, the theme might have originated in the days of the Pratap-Akbar clash.

Hence, Sūryavaṁśa origins get further magnified into that of Īkṣavāku, the lineage of the epic hero, Rāmacandra by the seventeenth century. Raṇachoḍa declares that since King Bāṣpa is Sūryavaṁśī, the account of Rāṇā Rājasiṁha (the Guhila King contemporary to Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa) would be pre-

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42. Devilal Paliwal (ed.), Jhulnā Mahārāṇā Pratāp Singhjī Rā, in Mahārāṇā Pratāp Smriti Grantha, Sahitya Sansthan, Udaipur, 1969, Pt.II, pp.55-67.

43. Ibid., p.58, v.5.

44. Rājapraśasti, ,op. cit., 4th Canto, vv.21-50; Amarakāvyam, op. cit., Canto, 16, vv.8-9.

45. Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.266-276.

46. Giridharlal Sharma, Bhīlon Kī Geet, Vol.II, op. cit., pp.115-20, `*dev to sāne laḍāī laḍe hāi re Pūrbiā rājā nava lākhe dev to dhūlo uḍāve re Pūrbiā rājā bhūriā vālī fauje re Pūrbiā rājā Mevāḍ no rājā jiti gio re Pūrbiā rājā devatā hele āāo re Pūrbiā rājā*'.

ceded by that of Sūryavaṁśa.[47] Thus the motif of Sūryavaṁśa of the early sixteenth century is further consolidated by connecting the Guhilas to the Ikṣavāku lineage of Rāmacandra. The Guhila genealogical account is compared with that of the Sūryavaṁśa in Rāmāyaṇa.[48] Then begins a detailed genealogical account of the Ikṣavāku lineage originating with Caturmukha Brahmā, the god of the universal creation and ending with Rāṇā Rājasiṁha via the line of the Āditya kings.[49]

King Vijay is stated to have received heavenly instruction that he should give up the title of 'Rājā' and adopt the title of '*Āditya*' for generations to come.[50] Vijay was followed by Padmāditya, Śivāditya, Haradatta, Sūjasāditya, Sumukhāditya, Somadatta, Śīlāditya, Keśavāditya, Nāgāditya, Bhogāditya, Devāditya, Āśāditya, Kālabhojāditya, and Grahāditya. The sons of the last prince came to be known as "Gahalot". The eldest of the Gahalots was Bāṣpa, the able one and born out of Pārvatī's tear-drop.[51]

Borrowing from the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century traditions, Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa in the Rājapraśasti declares the Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam to be the sixth chapter of Medapāṭā Khaṇḍa of Vāyupurāṇa.[52] The foundation story of the Guhila state of Bāṣpa (Bappa)-Hārīta-Ekaliṅga-Pārvatī-Medapāṭa is borrowed from the Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam without much elaboration. Here is a repetition of Pārvatī's lamentation that her tear-drop would be born as King Bāṣpa. Bāṣpa would acquire the Kingdom and later on heavenly abode by worshipping the lord of the earth (Jagannātha) at Nāgahrda *tīrtha*. She is stated to have cursed one of her lesser associates (named Caṇḍa) to become Hārīta in Medapāṭa. He would also

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47. Rājapraśasti, op. cit., 1st Canto, v.29.

48. Ibid., v.28.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 2nd Canto, 3rd Slab, pp.21-27, vv.3-38.

51. Ibid., 4th slab, pp.29-30, vv.2-9.

52. op. cit., p.18, v.19.

attain heavenly abode by worshipping Śiva.[53]

The loss of politico-military status became worse with Aurangzeb's inroads into Mewar, and Mughal attempts at direct annexation of the Rajput states in the seventeenth century. A crucial question as to why the seventeenth century court of Mewar produced two of the most important and longest royal records is perhaps partly answered in their attempts to compensate for the loss of political status.

In fact, the Rājapraśasti is the first royal record from Mewar that claims Bappa's victory over the ancient Moris of Chittaurgarh. Bāṣpa (Bappa), having received immense strength from Hārīta, attained the *praśasti* meant for sage Agastya.[54] Then begins the legend of Bāṣpa's military victory over his contemporary Moris of Chittaur. Being supported by other kings, Cakravartī King Bāṣpa is stated to have defeated King Manū of the Morī family, and to have acquired Citrakūṭa as his capital.

King Bāṣpa adopted the title of Rāval, Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa offers a new and a very significant analysis of the formation of this title. It is stated that 'Rā' stands for *Rājyatipurṇatva* (sovereignty), 'Va' for *Varatva* (greatness) and 'La' for Lakṣmīmatva (wealth).[55] An actual political title was magnified to glorify the Guhila dynasty rather than reveal the historical facts. Rāval Bāṣpa is followed by Khummāṇa, Govinda, Mahendra, Ālū, Siṁhavarma, Śaktikumār, Śālīvāhana, Naravāhana, Ambāprasāda, Kīrttivarma, Naravarma, Narapati, Uttama, Bhairava, Puñjarāja, Karṇāditya, Bhavasiṁha, Gotrasiṁha, Haṁsarāj, Subhayogarāja, Tejasiṁha, and Samarasiṁha.[56] Interestingly, Rāval Samarasiṁha is stated for the first time to be the husband of Pṛithvīrāja Chauhān's sister Pṛithā and attained heavenly abode in a battle against Sahabuddin Ghori while assisting the ruler of Delhi,

53. Ibid., v.24.

54. Ibid., vv.15-17.

55. Ibid., v.19,

56. Ibid., vv.20-24.

Prithvīrāja.[57] It can be seen that neither the above names of Guhila kings nor Samarasiṁha's marriage to Cāhamāna princess Prithā can be historically attested by the contemporary official records. They are instead borrowed from the bardic literature. Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa does mention in this context that he quotes Rāsā literature (he seems to mean *Prithvīrāja Rāso*).[58] Incorporations from the bardic literature reflect royal attempts to appropriate the popular imagination. It also emphasizes upon the Guhila social-links with another ancient Rajput dynasty.

The legendary figures of Māhap and Rāhap borrowed from the <u>*Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam*</u> also expand into new areas with elaborate trappings. It was the Rāṇā branch that still ruled Mewar in the seventeenth century. Samarasiṁha was succeeded by Karṇa, the twenty sixth Rāval. Karṇa was succeeded by sons Māhap and Rāhap. The eldest son, Māhap became the King of Dungarpur. Rāhap, the younger one and more daring, defeated Mokalsī of Manḍor and brought him to the feet of Rāval Karṇa. Karṇa is stated to have deprived Mokalsī of his title Rāṇā and conferred the same on his favourite Rāhap. Thus just like the title Rāval, history of the title of Rāṇā is shrouded in the glory of military achievements.

Ideological support is sought by bringing in the Paliwal brāhmaṇa Śarasālya who is stated to have blessed Rāhap with the Kingdom of Citrakūṭa. Here, an attempt is made to draw parallels with the legendary Bappa Rāval, the first of Rāval Kings who received the Kingdom of Citrakūṭa from Ekaliṅga with the mediation of sage Hārītarāśi. Hence, mere affiliation to the Guhila dynasty does not seem to be sufficient in the seventeenth century to claim control over Chittaurgarh. The recurrent fall of Chittaurgarh to the Mughal army after about 1550 seems to have caused repercussions on the hold of the Rāṇās over Chittaurgarh. Hence, a popular appeal similar to the legends of Bāppa-Hārītarāśi, was made through the myths of Rāhap, the founder of the Rāṇā branch and śarasālya, the Paliwal brāhmaṇa. Clearly the Paliwal brāhmaṇas (originating from Pali, Godwar) enjoyed patronage in the royal court of Mewar in the seventeenth

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57. <u>Ibid</u>., vv.20-27.

58. <u>Ibid</u>., v.27.

century. Rāhap was called Sīsodiā as he hailed from the town of Sīsodā (again borrowed from Ekalingamāhātmyam). As he acquired the title of Rāṇā, all his successors came to bear the same title. It is further asserted that Rāṇā Rahap was a Nārāyaṇa. Similar to the etymological formation of Rāval, the title of Rāṇā was formed by the first two letters of his two epithets, `Rājendra' (the great king) and `Nārāyaṇa' (the universal god of preservation).[59] Thus the actualities of the political structure are shrouded in a mystical garb to create a new perception of the Guhila state in the seventeenth century.

Interestingly, the importance of the bardic traditions seems to have been heightened by the seventeenth century. It appears that even affiliation to the Ādityas and the Īkṣavākus was not sufficient to ensure the popular image of the state. The motifs of "Ādityas" and "Īkṣavāku" were to enhance their social status amongst the Rajput states of western India. Yet they must surely have lost esteem in the eyes of the populace at large. How far could the epic and the Puranic motifs appeal to the popular mind? Incorporation of a popular tale of Guhāditya's birth in the context of Gujarat in the Amarakāvyam seems to indicate that the epic motifs were not sufficient to appeal to the popular imagination.

Having introduced a royal genealogical list similar to Rājapraśasti (*Śrī Amarakāvyam Vaṁśāvalīgrantho yamasyati*),[60] Amarakāvyam takes the birth-story of Guhāditya to a popular realm. The history of the Guhila family and its arrival in Mewar begins with the coming of Kamlāvatī, queen of Śīlāditya, and her daughter-in-law to Mewar during the Arab invasion of their Kingdom. The Daughter-in-law was expecting her first child. They decided to stay on in Mewar as Siladitya was killed in battle. Sīlāditya's daughter-in-law (belonged to Rāṭhaur lineage) gave birth to her posthumous son, entrusted him to a brāhmaṇī named Lakhmāvatī, and became Satī. Lakhmāvatī's husband was Vijayāditya Śarmā. He named the baby boy, Keśavāditya and identified his *gotra* as Vaijavāpāyan. The brāhmaṇa brought up Keśavāditya as his

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59. Ibid., vv.28-34.

60. Amarakāvyam, op. cit., p.299, last line of the text.

son. Thus Keśavāditya came to combine the best qualities of a brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya. He settled down in a village of olden times called Ānandīpura near Citrakūṭa, (presently known as Āroṇodā in Chittaur district) and founded his own Kingdom at Ānandīpura. Being endowed with magical power, he turned the statues of Vindhyavāsinī and Rāṣṭrasenī of the hills into gold. He ruled for one hundred and nine years, five months and nine days. Keśavāditya was followed by Kings Nāgāditya, Bhogāditya, Devāditya, Āśāditya, Kālabhojāditya and Grahāditya. This ruling family came to be known as Guhila after King Grahāditya. With Grahāditya ends the list of the fourteen Āditya kings and begins the account of the Rāvals (*vaṁśyāmo Rāvala atha*).[61]

The story of invasion by the Arabs, satī, as well as posthumous status of Keśavāditya, a refugee and the 'Āditya' progenitor of the royal Guhila family certainly drew sympathy. The other significant point in the above description is the location of Ānandīpura near Citrakūṭa. It has already been noted that the Guhilas did claim migration from Ānandapura as early as the tenth century. But Ānandapura has actually been located in north-east Gujarat (Vadnagar). Nor did any early medieval royal record from Mewar ever claim that Ānandapura lay near Chittaurgarh. The purpose of identifying present Ārṇodā of Chittaurgarh district with Ānandīpura in the seventeenth century was to accomplish the mission of aligning the Guhilas with the political landmark of Citrakūṭa as far back as possible.

The text borrows the story of Bappa, (not introduced as Bāṣpa in Amarakāvyam) from Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam and *Rājapraśasti* as far as his birth from Pārvatī's tear-drop is concerned. It introduces the popular story of Bappa's marriage to twenty six local princesses in frolic (the game of swinging). The marriage is stated to have been officially solemnized. Young Bappa is depicted as a shepherd. Here again is repeated the story of Bappa meeting Hārīta and pleasing Ekaliṅga through his services. Here is an incorporation of legends from the thirteenth century royal *praśastis, Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam* and folk-lores of Mewar. He is stated to have worshipped both Ekaliṅga and Vindhyavāsinī and became a disciple of Harīta. Bappa was blessed with the Kingdom of

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61. Ibid., 2nd Canto, pp.77-84.

Mewar and lordship of Citrakūṭa by sage Hārīta, favoured both by Ekaliṅga and Vindhyavāsinī.[62] Bappa built a temple of Ekaliṅga, the patron deity and made arrangements for its worship according to the Pasupata traditions. In the battlefield, he killed the Morī King Matūrāja and snatched the fort of Chittaur and the Kingdom from him. Bappa installed Samaddhiśvara on Citrakūṭa. He came to bear the title of Rāval as he excelled in the possession of kingdom (rājya), greatness (varatva) and prosperity (Lakṣmī) (same as Rājapraśasti).

This account of Bappa in the Amarakāvyam proves that the legendary figure of Bappa which remained popular as late as the seventeenth century continued to be appropriated by the Guhila state by making Bappa's out to be a pan-Indian king. To ascertain control over Chittaurgarh, Bappa is shown to be militarily superior to the ancient Morīs of Chittaurgarh. Finally, to create a political aura Bappa is made to extend his Kingdom from Mewar to Bay of Bengal on the east and river Indus on the West. Mewar is made to include Central Asia and Kashmir as well. Here is an attempt to project Bappa Rāval as a Cakravartī, King of all of India. This strengthens our suggestion that the status of the Mughal emperors with their original home in Central Asia influenced the Guhila perspectives even though they tried hard to conceal it. If Rājapraśasti emphasised social links with the ancient Cāhamānas, Amarakāvyam highlights their connections with the Rāṭhaurs. Depicting Bappa's queen as a Rāṭhaur princess indicates that the Guhilas acknowledged the socio-political importance of the Rāṭhaurs in the seventeenth century. It is already noted that the Rāṭhaurs enjoyed an advantageous socio-political status through their connections with the Mughals. Rāṭhaur pre-eminence in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries is evident from the Guhila claim of matrimonial alliance with the Kanyakubja Rāṭhaurs for the legendary Bappa Rāval.

The story of the two brothers, Māhap and Rahap is narrated with a little elaboration; Rāhap, the younger

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62. Ibid., 3rd canto, p.93, v.43. '*Bhumandate Kṣitipālakah syah Śrī Medapāṭaviṣaye sthırarājyakārī/Śrīcitrakūṭa patirūcccatamastava syāt Kīrttiśca śānttiralam Vitatdharitryam 11.*'

brother, is depicted as more courageous and a successful military general who even marched towards Delhi.[63] Māhap is intentionally portrayed in dark colours so that Rāhap, the younger brother can legitimately become the ruler. This justifies the supersession of the Rāvals by the Rāṇās. A very interesting anecdote is narrated regarding Rāhap's rise to power. The story reflects the political structure of Mewar in which the Bhils too are mentioned.[64] Politically subordinate position of the Bhils in the Guhila state of Mewar is clearly evident in the story.

III

Having discussed the royal perception it becomes essential to examine the perspective of the Jains who participated in the functioning of the Guhila state of Mewar. It is important to find out in which period the Jains began to recognize the Guhilas as the rulers of Mewar. This examination becomes significant in view of their long association with Chittaurgarh. Since Chittaurgarh had been held by a number of political powers before the Guhilas, the Jain references to the Guhilas as Kings of Citrakūṭa/Medapāṭa

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63. Ibid., Canto, vv.1-23.

64. Ibid., vv.10-15. Rāhap witnessed a fight between a hare and lion in the forests of Sīsodā. He wondered about the strength of the hare. A local magician advised Rāhap to eat the whole of that wonderful hare and not share it with others or leave any part of it. Rāhap killed the hare and cooked it in his kitchen. But he is stated to have partially forgotten the magician's advice. He ate some of its meat and distributed the rest of it amongst the Rajputs such as Khakharos, Chandanos and others. The Bhils ate up its bones. It is clearly claimed that Rāhap acceded to the throne of Mewar at Chittaur because of this episode. The Rajputs who shared the meat as well as the Bhils also got established in Mewar. And that is why, the Bhils and the Kṣatriyas (Rajputs) cannot abandon Mewar simply because they shared in this feast. The above episode clearly demonstrates the fact that in the process of their rise to power, the fifteenth century Guhilas acknowledged the locally powerful political components including the Bhils. The social distinction between flesh and the bones reflects upon the subordinate social and political situation of the Bhils in a Rajput state.

becomes important. On the other hand, impressions of the Jains were undoubtedly valuable for the royal family to forge political links with the wealthiest of the local communities, the Jains.

It is significant that pre-thirteenth century Jain inscriptional records of Mewar do not mention the Guhila Kings. This is important in view of the bulk of the pre-thirteenth century Jain inscriptions coming from Āhaḍa-Udaipur locality, the core area of the Guhila royal family. The first three inscriptions listed from Sitalnath temple of Udaipur[65] are such instances. It is the thirteenth century Jain inscriptions which refer to Guhila rulers for the first time. These inscriptions belong to the most elite Jain families.

The earliest significant inscriptional reference to the Guhilas as kings comes from a Jain inscription of A.D.1267. It refers to the reign of King Tejasiṁha, who is known to have been the first Guhila king to have made Chittaurgadh the capital.[66] King Tejasiṁha also figures in a short Jain inscription of A.D.1260 from Ghaghsa, Chittaurgarh.[67]

The Jain texts of the thirteenth century similarly acknowledge the rule of the Guhila rulers. The Jain manuscript Daśavaikālikādisutrapatrikā, patronized by Mahāmātya Śrī Jagatsiṁha, prime minister of King Jaitrasiṁha. The work was composed in the fortress of Āhaḍa/Āghāṭa. It refers to the Guhila king Jaitrasiṁhadeva as Mahārājādhirāja.[68] The Pākṣikasutravṛitti of Yaśodevasūri, patronized by two Jain personalities of King Jaitrasiṁha's court refers to his reign as 'Samvat 1309 Varṣe ... tatpaṭṭavibhuṣana

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65. P.C. Nahar, Vol.II, op. cit., pp.9-10.

66. Vir Vinod, I, op. cit., p.396. The record reads, '*Śrī Tejasiṁhadeva Kalyāṇvijayī rājā Vijaymāna pradhānarājarājaputra Kāṅgāputra paranārī Sāho.*'

67. G.H. Ojha, URI, op. cit., pp.169-170. Also see Ram Vallabh Somani, History of Mewar, op. cit., p.86.

68. Jain Puṣtaka Praśasti, op. cit., p.116, '*Samvat 1284 varṣe Śrīmadāghāṭdurge... Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jaitrasiṁhadeva Kalyāṇi Vijayrājye*'.

rājāśrite Jayasiṁhavijayarājye.[69] *Śrāvakapratikramaṇasutra-cūrṇī* of Vijayasiṁhasūri refers to the reign of Guhila King Tejasiṁha with the titles of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvarapa-ram bhaṭṭāraka Umāpativaralabdhapraudapratāpa Samalaṅkṛita".[70] *Kharataragacchhālaṅkar* section of *Kharata-ragacchha-bṛihad gurvāvalī* refers to the reign of Guhila King Samarasiṁha in the context of celebration of great festivals, congregation of a large number of people from various backgrounds and the installation of the idol of Śrī Neminātha. In fact, it is an important reference as the description pertained to Śrī Citrakūṭa Vihāra.[71]

However, it is important that the Guhila claim to power through the legends of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga find no mention in the thirteenth century Jain records. Nor do they acknowledge the long genealogical traditions claimed by the contemporary Guhila kings. The contrasts indicate the fact that if the Guhila dynasty had adopted the legitimizing motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga in the recent past, the Jains, particularly from Chittaurgarh, cannot be expected to accept so new a legitimizing tradition.

The very first fifteenth century Jain inscription, from Zawar (A.D. 1421), refers to the reigning Guhila King mod-estly, *Rājādhirāja Śrī Mokaladeva Vijayarājye*[72] However, the importance of the record lies in the fact that it came from a local, Jain merchant family of the Prāgvāṭa lineage Sah Nana was a rich and influential local merchant.[73]

The next batch of Jain inscriptional records come from the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa. It is significant that it is only in Kumbha's reign that the Jains start refering

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69. Ibid., p.125.

70. Ibid.

71. Kharatara Gacchha-bṛihadgurvāvalī, op. cit., 1956, p.56. `*Paus Sudi 9, Śri Citrakūṭe Vihārah 1 ... Phal-gun Vadī 5, Śrī Samarasiṁha mahārājarāmrājyepakda rājlok Sakalanāgarīkaṭoke savistārah praveśakmahotsavah Kāritāh*.

72. op. cit., 1.1.

73. vide Passim, Ch.III, see Section: Political Linkages with the Jains.

to the detailed genealogies of the Guhila Kings for the first time. Such a development in the fifteenth century speaks for the late acceptance of the royal Guhila claims by most of the elite Jain families. Hence, internalization as well as acknowledgement of the Guhila genealogy comes late.

Perhaps the best instance of Jain tribute to the Guhilas in the period is the Ranakpur *praśasti* of A.D. 1439. In fact it is one of the earliest fifteenth century records from Mewar that gives a detailed genealogy in the Guhila version. It is the first Jain record to specify the Guhilas as the rulers of Medapata and the Guhila founder of power, Bappa.

This very development is indicative of a gradual process of incorporation of the Jains, into the political structure. The longer the association, the deeper was the percolation of the Guhila claims into the Jain community.

Bappa not only gets mentioned for the first time in this Jain record but Guhila kings are also acknowledged as the descendants of *Bappavaṁśa*.[74] There is also an elaborate *prasasti* for Mahārāṇā Kumbha in which he is referred to as Śrī Kumbhakarṇa, an epic figure from Mahābhārata as well as compared with the epic heroes, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira.[75] Finally, it is significant that this record comes from a Jain merchant family, Dhārana Shāh of Sirohi,[76] and not from the Jain state officials. The record contains the following genealogy and *praśasti* of the Guhilas.[77] It is significant

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74. Ranakpur Praśasti, op. cit., 11.2 & 10.

75. Ibid., 11.18, 12-18.

76. vide Passim, Ch.III, p.61.

77. Ibid., 11.2-18, *'Śrīmedapāṭarājādhirāja Śrī Bappa, Śrī Guhila, Bhoja, Śīla, Kālabhoja, Bhartṛibhaṭa, Simha, Mahāyaka, Rājnīsutayutasvasuvarṇatulātolaka-śrīkhummāṇa, Śrīmadāllaṭa, Naravāhana, Śaktikumāra, Śuchi Varma, Kīrttivarma, Yogorāja, Vairāṭa, Vaṁśapāla, Vairīsiṁha, Vīrasiṁha, Śrī Arisiṁha, Cōḍasiṁha, Vikramasiṁha, Kumārasiṁha, Māthanasiṁha, Padmasiṁha, Jaitrasiṁha, Tejasvīsiṁha, Samarasiṁha, Cāhumāna Śrī Kītūkanṛipaśrī Allāvadīnasuratrāṇajaitra Bappa Vaṁśa Śrī Bhuvanasiṁha, Suta Śrī Jayasiṁha, Mālaveśagogadevajaitra Lakṣmasiṁha, putra Śrī Ajayasiṁha, bhartṛi, Śrī Arisiṁha, Śrī-*

that the Jains standardize the title of Kumbhakarṇa, for Rāṇā Kumbha, comparing the Guhila sovereign with a epic figure. However, it is important to remember that what the Guhilas could not erase from the knowledge of the Jains in early fifteenth century is the actual political history of Chittaurgarh. The inclusion of Sultan Alauddin in the royal genealogy points towards the Jain recognition of the former hegemony of the Delhi sultanate over the Guhila state of Mewar.[78] Śringār Chāvanrī (Chittaurgarh fort) inscription of A.D.1448 also refers to the reign of Rāṇākumbha as that of Śrī Kumbhakarṇa along with his genealogy.[79] The fact is equally evident from Jain inscription of A.D. 1437 from the temple of Śāntinātha.[80]

Kumbha also figures in the contemporary Jain literature in a similar style. Rāṇā Kumbha figures as Kumbhakarṇa in the text, Śrī Āvaśyakbṛihadvatti.[81]

The last of the Jain records under discussion, the Nādlāi inscription from the temple of Adinath of A.D. 1500, is perhaps our most important document for it is the earliest source to speak of the Sūryavaṁśa origin of the Guhilas. It is clear that the Jains were one of the first non-Rajput

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...Continued...

hammīra, Śrī Khetasiṁha, Śrī Lakṣman Kāyanarendra, Nandansuvarṇtulādidāna-puṇya nandana Śrī Mokalamahīpati... Rāṇā Śrī Kumbhakarṇa.'

78. Ranakpur Praśasti, op. cit, 11.11-18, `*Kulakānanapañcānansya Sārangapuranāgapura merūmanḍoramanḍalakara Bundī Khāṭūcāṭasu mahādūrgalīlā mlecchapālavyālacakravāla prabalaparākramakrāntādhittimanḍala gurjarātra Suratrāṇa datta t hindusuratrāṇa Virudasya Kīrttidharmaprajāpālana Śrī Rāmayudhiṣṭhirādinareśvarānukarasya Rāṇāśrī Kumbhakarṇa Sarvovipatisarvabhaumasya Vijayamānarājye*'.

79. Vir Vinod, I, op. cit., p.410. `*Rāṇā Śrī Lākhāputrarāṇāśrīmokalanandanaraśrī Kumbhakarṇa*'.

80. Somani, MK, op. cit., pp.371-72, `*Śrī Medapāṭadeśe Śrī Devakulapāṭaka puravare Nareśvara Śrī Mokalāputra Śrī Kumbhakarṇa bhūpati Vijayarāje*'.

81. Jain Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha, op. cit., p.148, `*Śrī medapāṭe deśe Śrīdevakulapāṭakapuravare Śrī Kumbhakarṇarājyeśrī Ukeśavaṁśīyanijapuṇyartham Śrī-Āvaśyakbṛihadvattilikhāpitam*'.

social groups to acknowledge the latest claim of the Guhila kings to Sūryavaṁśa.[82] The record not only mentions the 'Sūryavaṁśa' status but also traces the Guhila Kings from King 'Śīlāditya'.[83] Bappa is readjusted as Guhadatta's son, keeping the 'Guhila' nomenclature of the royal family intact.[84] Therefore, the royal claims to 'Sūryavaṁśa' and 'Ādityavaṁśa' can actually be traced back to the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries, when such royal claims seem to have been internalized at least by the Jains.

Unlike the Jains, the Ṭāmṭaraḍa family from Nāgdā was possibly the first non-Rajput social group of Mewar to acknowledge the genealogical origins of the Guhila kings. They not only identify the Guhila kings as members of the Guhilavaṁśa but also accept Bappa as the first King of the same dynasty.[85] The Ṭāmṭaraḍas, unlike the Jains of Chittaurgarh, came from the core area of the Guhila state, Nāgdā. Hence their long-familiarity with the Guhila dynasty speaks for their early acceptance of the Guhila kings as the sovereigns of Mewar as well as the royal claim of Bappa being the ancient king. Perhaps such familiarity explains the contrasts between their representations of the Guhila kings and those of the Jains in the thirteenth century. Because of the late entry of the Guhila kings into Chittaurgarh, the Jains were reluctant to acknowledge them at the outset. Since the Ṭāmṭaraḍas came to Chittaurgarh almost with the Guhilas, acquisition of Chittaurgarh by the Guhilas held no special criterion for the Ṭāmṭaraḍas to acknowledge a local dynasty that was seven-hundred year old by the

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82. Nādlāi Inscription of the reing of Rāṇā Rāimalla, op. cit., 11.12-13, '*Atheha Śrīmedapāṭadeśe I śrī sūryavaṁśa mahārājādhirāja*.

83. Ibid., 1.13, *Śrī Śīlādityavaṁśe Śrī Guhadatta*.

84. Ibid., pp.424-425, '*Rāula Śrī Bappaka Śrī Khummāṇādimahārājanvaye 1 Rāṇā Hamīra Śrī Khetasiṁha Śrī Lākhamsiṁhaputra Śrī Mokalmṛigāṅkavaṁśoddypta karakapratāp asamudra-mahāmaṇḍalakhaṇḍala-atulamahābalarāṇāśrī-Kumbhakarṇaputrarāṇā, Śrī Rāimallavijayamānaprājyarājye 1 tatputramahākumāraśrī Prithvīrājānuśāsanāta*'.

85. Chiravā Inscription, op. cit., v.3, '*Guhilāṅgajavaṁśajah purā kṣitipālotra babhūka Bappaka-prathamah paripanthipārthivadhvajinidhvaṅsan layah 11*'.

thirteenth century.

IV

We now discuss the essential points of two seventeenth century bardic traditions, <u>Nainsī Rī Khyāt</u> and cāran Girdhar Āsiā's <u>Sagat Rāso</u> to probe into the popular perception of the Guhila state. As this literature was composed in the vernacular, it may be considered a part of popular tradition. It is of interest to compare the royal accounts and Khyat and Caran traditions of the seventeenth century.

Muhatā Nainsī, a seventeenth century official and a historian from the royal court of Marwar, wrote <u>Sīsodiān Rī Khyāt</u> (a part of Nainsī Rī Khyāt), a historical account of the Guhila state. Nainsī is also popularly known as Abul Fazal of Rajasthan. His accounts of historical Rajasthan, is considered authentic. He is known to have consulted both the official records and local, bardic traditions. His Sīsodiyān Rī Khyāt provides us with some clues to the prevalence of the royal perception in the rest of Rajasthan. Nainsi repeats the legends of Bāppā Rāval-Hārītarāśi-Ekalinga-Meḍapāṭa while assigning *Dita-brāhmaṇa* (Āditya brāhmaṇa) origin to the Guhila kings of the seventeenth century. Nainsī narrates that Bāppā Rāval served Hārītarikhī (Hārītarāśi) for twelve long years while the latter served both Śrī Ekaliṅgajī and goddess Rāthāsenā. Hārītarikhī complained to Rāthāsenā for having ignored his disciple Bāppā and prayed for a kingdom for Bāppā. Rathāsenā asked him to serve Śrī Mahādeva as acquisition of a kingdom was not possible without his favour.[86] Hārītarikhī soon devoted himself to the service of Mahādev and since both Mahādev and Rāthāsenā were pleased with him they granted the state of Mewar to Bappa. Bāppā was blessed.[87] Hārītarikhī further

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86. Nainsī Rī Khyāt, Vol.I, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.11, `*tarāi devī kahayo-śrī Mahādevjī prasana karo l rāj Māhadevjī rī sevā binā pāijāu nā chhāii*'.

87. <u>Ibid</u>., `*rāj tahāro avicala rahasī*'.

instructed Bāppā to win Chittaur from its king Morī.[88]

Thus both the thirteenth century official motifs of Bappa-Hārītarāśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa and the seventeenth century royal claim that Bappa, the conqueror of Mān Morī and Chittaurgarh, had traversed Mewar into Marwar in the contemporary times. The Guhila version seems to have been received well by the elite in Marwar and presented to a larger audience as the *khyāt* was composed in Marwari language.

Similarly, the Guhila claim of Āditya (Sūryavaṁśī) origin is repeated in *Sīsodiyān Rī Khyāt*. The genealogical list begins with Brahmā followed by fifty-eight kings of Vaijavāpān gotra and titles of Śarmā[89] and fifty-five Āditya kings with Grahāditya (Guhadatta), third in the list[90] via an account of the mythological king Pārikṣit, it ends with Bāppā Rāval's descendants, the Sīsodiā kings (Rāṇās), of the seventeenth century. It is important that Nainsī designated the Guhila kings as the 'Āditya-brāhmaṇas' highlighting the thirteenth century Guhila claim of brahma-kṣatra origin. However, the only contrast between Nainsī's story of Bāppā Rāval and that of the seventeenth century Guhila record is the shift that seems to have taken place in the importance of goddess Rāṭhāsenā vis-a-vis goddess Vindhyavāsinī. The role assigned to Vindhyavāsinī in the Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam and the seventeenth century Guhila records in conferring royal power on Bāppā Rāval along with Ekaliṅga had shifted to Rāthāsenā (Rāṣṭrasenā of Ekaliṅgamāhātmyam) indicating both the military significance of the foundation story of the Guhila state of Mewar and popularity of a militant goddess than the benign Vindhyavāsinī.

Sagat Rāso was composed by cāran poet Girdhar Āsiā in A.D. 1673. It is an account of Śaktisiṁha, younger brother

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88. Ibid., pp.11-12, '*tarāi Rikhīśvar Kahayo-thāhara pag sun Mevādrī rāj Kadai jāi nāhin 1 nau Bāpā nun Kahayo - saman kar nau citoḍa upar jā. Morī āge rāj karau chau su mār nau rāj citoḍaro uḍo līyo. Sāmant 50 kahau chau. Bāpā nu huvo Bāpāu morī mār nau citoḍaro rāj līyo*'.

89. Ibid., p.9.

90. Ibid., p.10.

of Rāṇā Pratāp and the Śaktāvats, who fought against the Mughals. It is important to note that Cāran Āsiā was patronized by Rāṇā Rājasiṁha.

Cāran Girdhar Āsiā too designates the Guhila as *Sūryavaṁśī* who are claimed to be perfectly trained to carry out the duties of *Kṣatratva* (warriorhood). He elaborates upon their kṣatriya status. The Guhilas are eulogised as creators of an excellent model of *Kṣatratva* on earth to be followed by the rest of the world.[91] The Sīsodiās, powerful and charitable, are placed at the head of the twenty-four branches of the Guhilas.[92] It is significant that the seventeenth century cāran poet continues with the motif of King Hammīra, which had assumed significance for the royal house as early as the fifteenth century. Hence, Āsiā repeats that Mahārāṇā Hammīra of the house of Mewar is a powerful Hindupati (lord of the Hindus). Hammīra increased the glory of the twentyfour branches of the Sīsodiās and responsible for saving Chittaur.[93] In addition, Hammīra's lineage is simply termed as `The House of Mewar' (Mewāḍā gharānā).[94]

What is interesting in this cāran account is the continuation of the fifteenth century royal attempts at magnifying the Guhila leadership of the local community vis-a-vis the sultans. Hammīra was assigned with such popular ṭitles as `general of the Hindus who increased the glory of Mewar house', `Kedār Rāi for uprooting the scandals', `Prayāg-Rāj' washing the sins of the Sinners, `Viśiṣṭha Vārāṇasī', for liberating the killers, and `Gaṅgā and Maheśa' for the alcoholics, etc. Rāṇā Hammīra, the chief of the Hindus,

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91. Hukum Singh Bhati (ed.), Sagat Raso by Girdhar Asia, Udaipur, 1987, p.1., v.2, `*Sūrajvaṁśa Sarahiyai , bhuj dhara je sitradhara Gurū dhāra Gahilota tanau, Sāhī chāi to saṁsār*'.

92. Ibid., v.3. `*Kahī māhī Sāhī Gahalot Kula Vāplā hātha Kodivaris Sāhu Sirahāra Sesaudiā, Sasa avara chauvīs*'.

93. Ibid., v.4, `*Chauvīsain jala chādiva dhara Mevār Sādhira Citrakoṭa Ch' ala Uddhārana, Hinduā Chat Hamīra*'.

94. Ibid.

meditates on the land of Mewar.[95] In that lineage of famous Hammīra was born Rāṇā Khetā. He was so powerful that he drove away Sultan Amisah by inflicting a defeat in the battlefield.[96] If Mokala adorned *Gaṅgā* and *Maheśa* on his head (accepted *Gaṅgā* and *Maheśa* as his ideal),[97] Kumbha came to be known as lord Kṛiṣṇa's incarnation and endowed with supernatural qualities. He bore wounds on the battlefields but led his army to victory and captured eightyfour forts.[98] Saṅgrāmsiṁha remained unrelenting in war, defeated and captured two Sultans as lord of Chittaur, and brought Chanderi under the sway of Chittaur through sheer military superiority.[99]

Tod's Annals of Mewar:

We conclude this section with a brief note on the Guhila state perceived by Tod, an officer of the East India Company, who travelled extensively in Rajasthan in the early nineteenth century. He repeats the story of Guhadatta, the posthumous son of the last Maitraka king of Valabhī Śīlāditya, and brāhmaṇī Kamlāvatī of Birnagar (Nāgar gotra) bringing him up as a Rajput prince. Since this version of the origin of the Guhila dynasty reflects the royal perspective of the seventeenth century, the early part of Tod's work certainly points to continuity and percolation of the royal perspective to the ranks of the local elite. The rest of Tod's version can be briefly summed up as follows.

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95. Ibid., v.5, `*Hinduā chhat pratāpai. Hamīra, Nagendra vaṁśa Chaḍiva niral Kalaṅkīyān Rāi Kedār Rāṇā 1 Pāpīyan Rāi Prayāga pramāṇa 1 Vārāṇasa hātiyārān Viśeṣa 1 Maduanā rāṇā Gaṅgā Maheśa 1 Dhuraisya Vīrada Uddhārana dhīra. Hinduā chhat pratāpahamīra 11*'.

96. Ibid., v.6, `*Jina Hammīra ghara janamiau cho Ṣetala rāṇā 1 Jina bhaggo riṇo padhdhārāi, Sāh Amī Suratāna*'.

97. Ibid., v.7, `*Ṣetala Lāṣo janamio, nara nikalaṅka nareśa 1 Jina, Mokalsī janamio, muggata Gaṅgāmaheśa*'.

98. Ibid., vv.8-10, `*Mokalarāṇā Mokala Kumbho janamio, Kahī avatāra Kiśana lārī chaurā sī Gaḍha liā, Vāpra chaurāsī vana, Sunnahipura Samuhī, ani navalāsī ana.*'

99. Ibid., vv.11-12, `*Rāṇā Kumbha ghara Rāimala, tehā tano Pṛthīmalla, Lāllāu mārī Todau liāu, pauha Uḍānoapalla 11 Achala bandhava Saṅgrāmsī, Sāhī be Suratāna 1 Chanderī Chittor galī, peho bandhī Sāṅgāpana*'.

Guhadatta, although brought up as a brāhmaṇa, associated with the Rajput boys, hunted wild animals, and at the age of eleven became uncontrollable. In the words of the legends, "How should they hide the ray of the Sun?"[100] At this period Idar (north-east Gujarat) was governed by a Bhil chief, Māṇḍalīka. The young Guhadatta frequented the forests in company of the Bhils and soon became a favourite with the *Vanaputras* (Bhils), who resigned to him Idar with its hills and forests.

One day, the Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Guhadatta. One of the young Bhils cut his finger, applied the blood as the *tīkā* of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. What follows is Guhadatta's treacherous act of slaying his benefactor, the old Bhil chief, and seizing power. The Bhils, tired of alien rule, assailed Nāgāditya, the eighth Guhila prince, and deprived him of life and Idar. The infant Bāppā, son of Nāgāditya, three years old, was taken to the fortress of Bhander, where he was protected by a Bhil of Yādu descent. Then follows the account of Bāppā and his marriage to the Solaṅkī princess of Nāgdā and his subsequent flight into the interior hills of Nāgdā valley. 'The companions of his flight were two Bhils: one of Undri, in the valley of the present capital, the other of Solanki descent, from Oghna Panarwa, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's, and the former had the honour of drawing the tika of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori. It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still "honoured in the observance." The descendants of Baleo of Oghna and the Undri Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the tika on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.'[101]

In the wilds of Nāgdā where rose the *Trikūṭa* hills, was the abode of Mahādeva and brāhmaṇas who performed the yaj-

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100. Tod, Annals, Vol.I, op. cit., p.181.

101. Ibid., p.262.

nas.[102] In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, the sheperd. What follows is the all too familiar account of Bappa, and Hārītarāśi, who initiated the former in the rites of Śiva, `...By the hands of the sage, who became his spiritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of "Regent" (Diwan) of Ekalingaji'.[103] Bappa received a lance, bow, quiver, and arrows, a shield and a sword from goddess Bhavānī and a double-edged sword from the famous sage, Gorakhnath.[104] With this, was opened the road to fortunes leading to the throne of Chittaur. Then follows Bāppā's enrollment in Mān Morī's service, leading the local Sāmantas against a foreign foe, extension of the campaigns to Gajni, winning the esteem of the chiefs who transferred to him their services and homage, and Morī was ousted.[105] Hence, Bāppā became the "mor" (crown) of the land and obtained by universal consent the title of "Sun of the Hindus" (Hinduā Sūraj), "precepts of princes" (Rāja Gurū), and "Universal lord" (Chakravartīn),[106] Bāppā is further attributed progeny who continued as powerful chiefs in Saurashtra as late as Akbar's reign.[107]

The essential difference between the seventeenth century royal perspective and Tod's version lies in the appropriation of the popular motifs such as "shepherd" for legendary Bāppā. Extension of Bāppā's expedition to Gazni and receiving of weapons from Bhavānī and Gorakhnāth certainly mystified the status of Bāppā in the eyes of the local society.

Similar magnification of Bāppā's image can be perceived from another local version of Bappa's expeditions to west Asia. Tod reports to have collected an old volume of historical anecdotes, belonging to the chief of Delwara, which states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Menī, where

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102. Ibid., p.181.

103. Ibid., p.184.

104. Ibid., p.185.

105. Ibid., p.186.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

he was buried alive after having overcome all the kings of the West, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Kashmir, Irak, Iran, Turan, and Kafiristan; all of whose daughters he married and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Naushahra Pathans.[108] `His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called Agni-upasi Suryavansi, or "Sunborn" fire-worhsippers.'[109]

The story of Bāppā's campaign, victories and social links with Central and West Asia is likely to have been influenced by the Mughal chronicles. Since the ancestors of the Mughals came from Central Asia and as they happened to be the emperors of the entire subcontinent, providing the first Guhila King of Mewar with a similar background undoubtedly leant prestige. Propagation of such a magnified image of Bappa in nineteenth century Rajasthan certainly contributed to the process of making of historical traditions of Mewar.

In conclusion, we may recapitulate the essential points of perspectives of the major social groups discussed above. The royal perspective has been understood in the contemporary political contexts between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The Guhila state confronted a larger society in the second half of the thirteenth century as it came to exercise power over the whole of Mewar from Chittaurgarh, the ancient political landmark of Mewar. Hence, the state constructed and appropriated some of the local popular myths such as those of the Bappa-Hārītaraśi-Ekaliṅga-Medapāṭa to popularize its political image. What Bappa did for the thirteenth century Guhilas, Hammīra did for the fifteenth century Guhilas. What is significant is that if the Guhilas redeemed their image through magnification of status by claiming victories over the *śakādhipatis* (referring to the Sultans of Nagaur, Gujarat and Malwa) and liberation of the holy *tirthas* of Gayā, Kāshī and Prayāg, they also appropriated the title of Hammīra for one of their early ancestors, a title so popular amongst the Sultans of Delhi. Hence, images of royalty of the Sultanate of Delhi continued to influence the Guhila projection of self-image

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108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

indicating not only the internalization of the title of Hammīra within the Rajput Society but also the problem of redeeming self-image in front of a powerful adversary. The confrontations with the Mughal emperors and consequent political crisis between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries certainly influenced further magnification of the Guhila status from *kṣatrīya-Sūryavaṁśī* in the early sixteenth century to Īkṣvāku lineage in the seventeenth century.

If the Ṭāmṭaraḍas acknowledged Bappa as the progenitor of Guhilavaṁśa, the Jains at Chittaurgarh only accepted the Guhila as their kings, without elaborate claims. It is only in the fifteenth century that the Jains acknowledged Bappa as the progenitor of the Guhila dynasty with inclusion of Alauddin Khalji in the royal genealogy.

The bardic traditions of the Khyāts, Rāsos and Tod's Annals between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries repeat many a royal motif and perhaps reflect the percolation and standardization of the royal claims. The story of Bappa receiving the state of Mewar along with Citrakūṭa from Ekaliṅga, the titular deity of Mewar via the medium of Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi, favoured by Ekaliṅga's consort, Bhavānī, takeover of crown from Mān Morī and projection of Bappa as the best of the Sūryavaṁśī-Kṣatriyas and leader of the community "Hinduā-Sūraj" came to be an integral part of the historical traditions of Mewar. If the current folk-songs and idioms are any indication of the popularity of such royal figures as Bappà and Kumbha,[110] the royal bhaṭ-

110. Prāchīna Rājāsthānī Geet, Vol.I, photo-stated copy available at the library of Sahitya Sansthan, Udaipur.

`Morī mār lio Mevāḍe, bhāme bhujā tana
gaja bhīm
Rām lihā kim lope rāval, sāt samand
bachā kidhī sīmā
Nyāya Sāsatra lopio nājāve, khatriān
gurūtaya adag khāmī
Bāpe lidhī ·āp bāha bal,
jojon koḍa pachās.

Translations: Rāval Bāppā, who killed Morī to conquer Mewar, was very powerful. If he wished, he could have taken his arms on the other banks of the seas. But he

ṭas, the Cāran poets, historian Nainsī and Col. James Tod, amongst others, contributed to the making of such traditions.

...Continued...

did not like to transgress his ancestor Śrī Rāmacandra's orders. Therefore, in spite of his great arms, he did not extend the boundary of his kingdom beyond these banks of the seas. Rāval Bāppā considered himself as powerful as Bhīma. Bhīma used to topple the elephants with his own hands. But Rāmachandra's prestige could not be transgressed. And that is why he defeated could not be transgressed. And that is why he defeated Chitraṅg Morī and confined the boundary of his kingdom upto the midst of the seven seas. The Rajputs having adorned (borne?) the arms have never deviated from the path of justice. Therefore, Bāppā Rāval also extended his territorial sway over fifty crore yojana of land on his own. When powerful Bappa of the Guhila lineage (Vaṁśa) brought the distant forts and kings under his control, everybody eulogized him by declaring that if Bāppā disregarded Rāmacandra's prestige then he would have definitely extended his sway beyond the seas.

For Kumbha see Laxmilal Joshi, Mevāḍ Ke Kahāvaten, Ajmer, 1978, p.144.

Kumbha:

Kāl pare to Kumbha dhanī, meha
barṣe to majurī ghanī.

Translation: Mahārāṇā Kumbha was so good a ruler than his subjects did not fear even in the time of crisis. Because once it rained good, the state used to offer employment liberally.

CHAPTER VI - APPENDIX

Muhatā Nainsī Rī Khyāt: Sīsodiyān Rī Khyāt[111]

Ancestors of Bāppā Rāval are listed as follows:

Bramhā
Vijaipān
Devaśarmā
Agnyaśarmā
Vijaiśāmā
Khemśarmā
Rikhīśarmā
Jagśarmā
Narśarmā
Gajśarmā

Jayśarmā
Vāsuśarmā
Keśavśarmā

Rājśarmā
Vīrājśarmā
Harakhśarmā
Picaśarmā
Vedaśarmā
Hṛidaiśarmā
Narśarmā
Harśarmā
Dharmaśarmā
Viśvaśarmā
Vardevśarmā
Kampatiśarmā
Narnāthśarmā

Pītaśarmā
Hemvarṇaśarmā

Rājaśarmā
Galavdevśarmā
Galavśarmā

Govindśarmā
Govardhanśarmā

Vākyaśarmā
Virāṭśarmā

Nityanandśarmā
Vanśarmā

Āditya-brāhmaṇa Kings[112]

Godsiditya
Ajāditya
Grahāditya
Mādhavāditya
Jalāditya

Jalmallāditya
Padmāditya
Devāditya
Hemāditya
Kalāditya
Karmāditya

Vijayāditya
Keśavāditya
Nāgāditya
Bhogāditya
Bhagāditya
Grahāditya
Devāditya
Ambāditya
Bhogāditya

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111. op. cit., p.9.

112. Ibid.

Samarasiṁha Rāval (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Solaṁkhnī Ramā Bāi
Karaṇa Rāval (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Cāhamāna Prithā Bāi
Rāṇo Rāhap (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Solaṁkhnī Koḍāmade Bāi
Narapati Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Paramār princess
Dinakara Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Pratīhār Nārangde Bāi
Jasakaraṇa Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	
Nāgapāla Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Paramār Jamnādo Bāi
Puraṇapāla Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Pratīhār Bhāgavatī Bāi
Prathīmala Rāo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Solaṁkhnī Purābāi
Bhunagsiṁha Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Yādav Bāi Mānmatī
Bhīmasiṁha Rāṇo (Rājya Āhaḍa)	Bhāṭayānī Purā Bāi
Jaisiṁha Rāṇo (Rājya Citrakūṭa)	Paramār Gangāde Bāi
Līkhamsī Rāṇo Rājya Kailvāḍe	Rāṭhoḍ Lāl Bāi
Arsī Rāṇo (Rājya Kelvāḍe)	Tomār Dhana Bāi
Ajesīrāṇo (Rajya Kelvāḍe)	Rāthoḍ Dīnā Bāi

Rājāvalī Bahī

	Queen Mothers
Rājā Śrī Padmādatjī	Jādav Jevatā Bāi
Rājā Śrī Sevādatjī	Rāthoḍ Sūraj Bāi
Rājā Śrī Haridatjī	Cāhuvān Rāj Bai
Rājā Śrī Surājditajī	Patāmde Paramārade Bāi
Rājā Śrī Somadatjī	Jādav Jamnāde
Rājā Śrī Sāladatjī	Kanakāvatīde Bāi
Rājā Śrī Kesavadatjī	Kamlāvatī Bāi; Queen Yādav Mānmatī; Son Nāgādatji
Rājā Śrī Nāgadatjī	Yādav Mānmatī Bāi (Rājya Nāgdā)
Rājā Śrī Bhogādatjī	Morāndemāde Bāi
Rājā Śrī Deyadatjī	Padīhār Savatī Bāi
Rājā Śrī Āsādatji	Solaṁkhnī Sobhāgvatī Bāi
Rājā Śrī Kālabhojajī	Mokhanā Ratnāvatī Bāi
Rājā Śrī Garādatjī	Padīhār Jasodā Bāi

<u>Rājya</u>

Rāval Bāpojī	Vās Ghāse	Paramār Patamde Bāi
Rāval Srī Khumāṇjī	Khāmnor	Rāthoḍ Rāj Bāi
Rāval Govindjī	Gogunda	Paramār Pemā Bāi
Rāval Mahindrajī	Machīdgarh	Jādav Ramā Bai
Rāval Śrī Ālujī		Solaṁkhnī Sāla Bāi
Rāval Śrī Sīhajī	Citrakoṭ	Rāthoḍ Ratnāvatī
Rāval Śrī Kālabhojājī		
Rāval Śrī Sagat Kanwarjī	v.s.562 Citrakoṭ	Devaḍī Sambā Bāi
Rāval Śrī Matrakhjī		
Rāval Śrī Sāla-vāhanjī	v.s.487	Paramār Kodāmde
Rāval Śrī Nara-vāhanjī	v.s.618 Citrakoṭ	Rāthoḍ Jaivatā Bāi
Rāval Ambāprasādjī	v.s.686 Citrakoṭ	Chāvan Sobāghde Bāi
Rāval Kīrtibhramjī	v.s.691 Citrakoṭ	Jādav Ratnāvatī Bāi
Rāval Śrī Nara-bhramjī	v.s.732 Citrakoṭ	Paramār Manbhāvatī Bāi
Rāval Śrī Khemarājī		
Rāval Śrī Narbhejī	v.s.743 Citrakoṭ	Tāvar Nāgarde Bāi
Rāval Śrī Bhavasiṁhajī		
Rāval Sri Utamjī	v.s.779 Citrakoṭ	Solaṁkhnī Sabā Bāi

Rāval Śrī Bhairavjī	v.s.796	Citrakoṭ	Paḍīhār Padmāvatī Bāi
Rāval Kanadejī			
Rāval Śrī Kīratsiṁhajī			
Rāval Śrī Hasarājjī			
Rāval Śrī Jomādrājjī			
Rāval Śrī Vīradrajjī			
Rāval Śrī Vansīrājjī			
Rāval Śrī Teja-siṁha	v.s.1066	Citrakoṭ	Rāthoḍ Lachmī Bāi
Rāval Śrī Jasvāranjī			
Rāval Śrī Surbhānjī			
Rāval Śrī Haspāljī			
Rāval Śrī Bajesiṁhajī			
Rāval Śrī Arasījī			
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Rāval Śrī Dugārsiṁhajī			
Rāval Śrī Pūjojī			
Rāval Śrī Partāpjī			
Rāval Śrī Samarsījī	v.s.1106	Citrakoṭ	
Rāval Śrī Karaṇ-siṁhajī	v.s.1155		
Mahārāṇā Śrī Rābjī	v.s.1201	Citrakoṭ	Solaṅkhnī Koḍāmde Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Narapatjī	v.s.1262	Citrakoṭ	Paramār Surde Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Dinkaranjī	v.s.1295	Citrakoṭ	Paḍīhār Araṅgde Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Jaskaranjī	v.s.1301	Citrakoṭ	Solaṅkhnī Jaimāta Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Nāgapāljī	v.s.1306	Citrakoṭ	Puvār Jivānde
Mahārāṇā Śrī Puranpāljī	v.s.1311	Citrakoṭ	Paḍīhār Bhāgvatī Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Prathīpāljī	v.s.1315	Citrakoṭ	Solaṅkhnī Purā Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Bhuruṅsiṁhajī	v.s.1319	Citrakoṭ	Jādav Bhānvatgī Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Bhīmasiṁha	v.s.1322	Āhaḍa	Bhāṭānī Purā Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Jayasiṁha	v.s.1326	Citrakoṭ	Paramār Gaṅgāde Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Gadalākhamansiṁha	v.s.1331	Kelwāḍe	Rāthoḍ Queen mother
Mahārāṇā Śrī Arsījī	v.s.1346	Kelwāḍe Chittaur	Tāvar Dhana Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Ajesiṁhajī	v.s.1346	Kelwāḍe	Rāthoḍ Danade Bāi
Mahārāṇā Śrī Hamīrasiṁha			

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we briefly present the results and the main points emerging from the present study. Our main objective was to trace the emergence and development of a regional state, the Guhila state of Mewar, in early medieval and medieval India. We attempted to underline in the beginning how the study of state formation has become necessary in view of the prevailing historiography which emphasizes political fragmentation of state brought about by the collapse of empires and thus denies the processes of state formation from local roots, and at regional levels.

The major point that emerges from the present study is that the phenomenon of regional state formation is a slow process and details of the process can only be ascertained by studying a region in depth. But regions are not usually geographically homogeneous. Differences in geographical features give rise to differentiation in human organization of space and hence, we have multiple nuclear zones within areas playing significant historical roles. Differentiation in space presents us with the cultural map of a region with different units which gets integrated only through the process of state formation under a dynasty. Thus, in order to ascertain the role of a dynasty in integrating various areas various areas into a state, a study of the region becomes necessary. Since Mewar consists of two sub-regions, we began our study with a geographical profile of the Mewar hills and the upper Banas plain.

From a study of the region we moved on to the role of the Guhila dynasty in converting the disparate zones of a region into a state in terms of a single politico-administrative unit over a period of time. We have found three distinct stages in the growth of the Guhila state, following its initial emergence in Nāgdā-Āhaḍa in the seventh century. It is evident that both the local Guhila states of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa and Kiṣkindhā attempted integration of the local chiefs through ranking in the *sāmanta* hierarchy and distribution of roles and services. The local Guhila states began

their political career on an agrarian base coupled with small-scale trading activities. Penetration of state-society into the tribal areas in the local state of Nāgdā-Āhaḍa can be seen in opening up of mines and brāhmaṇical appropriation of the goddess of the forest dwellers, Araṇyavāsinī, to facilitate the exercise of Guhila royal power in the peripheral areas. Similarly, landgrants to the migrating brāhmaṇas legitimized royal power in the local state of Kiṣkindhā.

The second stage saw the consolidation of Guhila power at Nāgdā-Āhaḍa and territorial integration of the southern part of the upper Banas plain and the Mewar hills (the state of Kiṣkindhā) by the tenth century. Territorial integration ran prallel to an intensification of the material base of the Guhila state. The rural base had given rise to an urban-cum-exchange centre at Āṭapura, the seat of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhila power, by the tenth century. The religious dimension of legitimation also appears for the first time in the Guhila state in the tenth century. Royal patronage of the *Pāśupata* sect and construction of the temple of Ekaliṅga at Nāgahrda are politically significant as strategies of integration; of local as well as migrant Rajput chiefs who appear for the first time in this period.

It has also been shown that the tenth century records of the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa Guhilas reveal changes in their political and social status which undoubtedly distinguished them from their earlier status. New claims regarding respectable ancestry, prestigious matrimonial and administrative alliances, and finally the very mention of the Guhila power of Medapāṭa in the epigraphical records of their contemporary powers, are pointers to increasing Guhila power in the tenth century. It is also significantly noted that the virtual absence of intrusion by other major powers into the southern part of the Mewar hills and northern Middle Mahi basin, and the termination of Paramāra and Caulukyan sway over the latter indicate the connection of this region with the Nāgdā-Āhaḍa dynasty. Inspite of Pratīhāra sway over Southern Rajasthan and Chittaurgarh, no actual Pratīhāra record has so far been discovered in the heart of Mewar hills or even

in upper Banas plain. The Pratapgarh inscription from the southern part of upper Banas plain was only issued in the reign of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāladeva II by the local Cāhamāna and Guhila rulers. Nor is any Pratīhāra record reported from Chittaurgarh. The records of the late elevanth century confirm the expansion of Guhila power to the north beyond the Aravallis in the region of Marwar. It is not surprising that they called themselves sovereigns of Medapāṭa (Mewar) by the early twelfth century in their own records.

The final stage in the development of the Guhila state was its crystallization in the thirteenth century when the Guhila took Chittaurgarh, the ancient landmark of Mewar and claimed sovereignty over the whole of Mewar. Now the Guhilas were associated with Citrakūṭa. Their records project the legendary Bappa's possession of the fortress back into the remote past. That is why we see a shift of role for Guhadatta as he appears to be the progenitor Bappa's son in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth century Guhila state in fact drew legitimation from the regional cult of Ekaliṅga through the medium of the motifs of progenitor Bappa and his preceptor, Hārītarāśi, the *Pāśupata ācārya*. The actual shift of the capital to Chittaurgarh during the Guhila Tejasiṁhas' reign is also evident from his epigraphs. Guhila genealogy was restructured in the thirteenth century records and acquired a new form. From a brāhmaṇa origin, the Guhilas claimed brahma-kṣatra status, which speaks for larger territoriality and social linkages with the contemporary, leading kṣatriya royal families.

However, mere possession of Chittaurgarh did not enable the Guhilas to retain power in Mewar beyond the thirteenth century. There was the Khalji intrusion in the early fourteenth century. The Hāḍās, Parmāras or Sāṅkhlās, Solaṅkīs, Kherāḍās, etc., were the other local, chiefs with important strongholds in the eastern and north-eastern upper Banas plain. It was imperative for any state of Mewar to forge close social links with them to control their forts as second line of defence for Chittaurgarh, as well as the extended core of the Guhila state. The Guhilas of the fifteenth century had matrimonial relations with most of

these chiefs who came to constitute a major factor in the political structure and hence, contributed towards the military apparatus of the state.

Guhila social relationships with a number of contemporary Rajput ruling families in the medieval period were actually an essential part of their military policy. Their matrimonial alliances with the Hāḍās of eastern Mewar or Kherāḍās of Jahazpur were steps towards territorial integration and control of forts strategic to Chittaurgarh. On the other hand, marriage alliances with the Rāṭhaurs of Marwar or Khīchīs of Gagraun extended the Guhila line of defence in the northern and south-eastern directions respectively. Interestingly fortifications of the peripheral areas did not necessarily mean that hinterlands had been integrated for all time to come. The list of Kumbha's forts in Merwara, Bhomat, core of Mewar hills, Oghna-Panarwa and hill-passes testify to the continuing royal attempts to control tribal areas in the hinterland.

Discussion on territorial integration remains incomplete without exploring the relationship between the tribal population of Mewar hills, the Bhils, and the state-society. The subject has been totally neglected in the numerous monographs available on the history of Mewar. The crux of the relationship seems to be manifested in the symbolic recognition of the Bhils (application of *tīkā* of blood on the forehead of the succeeding Guhila king by the Bhil chief of Oghna-Panarwa) and the Bhil acceptance of the Guhilas as their political masters. This inauguration ritual on formal occassions and numerous bardic traditions suggest relations between the Guhilas and the Bhil chiefs. But the silence of the official sources on the importance and proximity of the core-area Bhils highlights the subordinate position of the Bhils in the Guhila state. Peasantization of the core-area Bhils, Bhil control over routes of communication in the hilly and forest terrain, Bhil local militias and labour at the mining centres, were important resources for the Guhila state. Such interactions over a long period of time were bound to bring significant changes in a so-called egalitarian tribal society. Bhil chiefs of Oghna-Panarwa claimed

Solaṅkī Rajput origin around the sixteenth century. Thus, the emergence of such elite groups in Bhil society points towards an instance in caste formation, a social process that ran parallel to the phenomenon of state formation.

An administrative structure initially dominated by the Rajputs came to incorporate a non-Rajput social groups, such as the Jains, by the thirteenth century. The Jains controlled most of the contemporary trade in western India and served the Guhila state as administrative personnel (chief treasurer to chief ministers). They became one of the main sources of state revenues. Their assimilation into the Rajput political structure is evident from their new title of Rājaputra. The Guhila state also patronized the Jain religious establishments between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. If the state had to integrate a wealthy community for obvious reasons, the latter also depended on the former for furthering its economic interests through political connections. At this stage, the bulk of the Rajput chiefs and their retainers were diverted more towards the building of the military apparatus in a period of growing military programmes between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Royal references to an increasing number of fortresses by the fifteenth century point towards the importance of Rajput personnel in the control of new areas such as Merwara within Mewar or strategic points in Hāḍāvatī or Gagraun.

Besides the Jains, brāhmaṇas, and some other non-Rajput social groups like the Ṭāmṭaraḍas of Nāgdā contributed towards the development of the Guhila state in the same period. The brāhmaṇas legitimized Guhila rule particularly in the fifteenth century in areas beyond the traditional frontiers of Guhila domain, as is evident from royal landgrants made to brāhmaṇas for the first time in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign. If the Guhila dynasty had managed to project a long period of rule by an unified royal family in which proliferated branches had moved away without the royal power, the long traditions of Guhila dynastic rule were appropriated by the chiefly family from Chittaurgarh in maintaining the status of Mewar as a leading regional power

of western India by the fifteenth century.

Finally, the present case study has also explored the ideological apparatus of the state. The genealogical claims coupled with origin myths and the symbiotic relationship between the monarchy and the cult centres have been studied in detail. This particular aspect of state formation has remained neglected in the current historiography on Mewar. Since the emergence of local states has been viewed only in terms of the break-up of an empire, the political importance of local religious and cultural traditions has been side-tracked. At the most, religious studies have been utilized to highlighted the "exploitation".of the masses by the ruling class. An enquiry into the relationship between the Guhila monarchy and the local cult centres necessitated a study of the *Pāśupata* institutions and the *Pāśupata ācāryas*. But the study reveals that the reciprocal relationship between the temporal and the divine, the Guhila king and the deity Ekaliṅga -- a relationship which seems to have grown up on a strong base of *Pāśupata* influence -- cannot be taken back to the earliest stage of Guhila rule in Mewar.

The seventh century Guhila states did not patronize religious sects and there is no contemporary evidence of the predominance of any one sect in Mewar. However, saiva *acaryas* appears to have been patronized by the Guhila of Kiṣkindhā in the eighth century, indicating the popularity and influence of the *Śaivas* who had a strong institutional (maṭha) base. One of the *Śaiva* sects, the *Pāśupatas*, with their cult of Ekaliṅga, successfully managed to obtain Guhila patronage in the tenth century. The *Pāśupata ācāryas* got the temple of Ekaliṅga constructed by Guhila kings at Nāgdā. The *Pāśupatas* drew sustenance from the Guhilas, while the Guhilas legitimized their royal power from the cult and the motifs of Bappa and Hārītarāśi. The culminating point in this dialectic between the state and the cult of Ekaliṅga came in the late fifteenth century when the Guhilas declared themselves as *Ekaliṅgajinijasevaka* surrendering temporal power to the regional cult. Integration of the strong, local tradition of goddesses (Araṇyavāsinī, Ghaṭṭavāsinī, Vāṭayakṣiṇīdevī, etc.) is also expressed in

the predominant cult of Vindhyavāsinī by the fifteenth century. Similarly, genealogical and origin status graduated from simpler claims to highly prestigious ones in the medieval period. Like the state itself, the ideology went through a slow process of growth, spanning centuries.

Our study of the history of a regional state, in Mewar, between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, confirms some of our basic convictions about the political processes of early medieval India. Local level ruling families grew into regional dynasties by integration of the local chiefs and various social groups into the emerging political structure through the mechanism of ranking in the *sāmanta* hierarchy and distribution of administrative roles and services.

The political process ran in tandem with economic, social and religious processes. The spread of rural, agrarian settlements formed the basis of the economic process resulting from both the individual and royal initiatives contributed to the growth of the private landlords as well as helped to meet the growing revenue needs of the state. This process culminated in the expansion of some rural settlements into urban and trading centres, resulting in the intensification of the economic profile of the region, and royal mobilisation of additional resources. The other major aspect of the economic processes was the peasantization of the local tribe, with the spread of cultivation as well as operation of local mines. The process of Rajputization that ran parallel to the process of peasantization in western India culminating in caste formation formed the basis of the social process.

Royal affiliation to a regional cult or a *tīrtha* facilitated emergence of a central pantheon into which most of the local cults and tīrthas were integrated. Hence, regional state formation also ran parallel to the formation of a regional religious traditions.

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